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ALBERTA-MONTANA RELATIONSHIPS

A DISSERTATION

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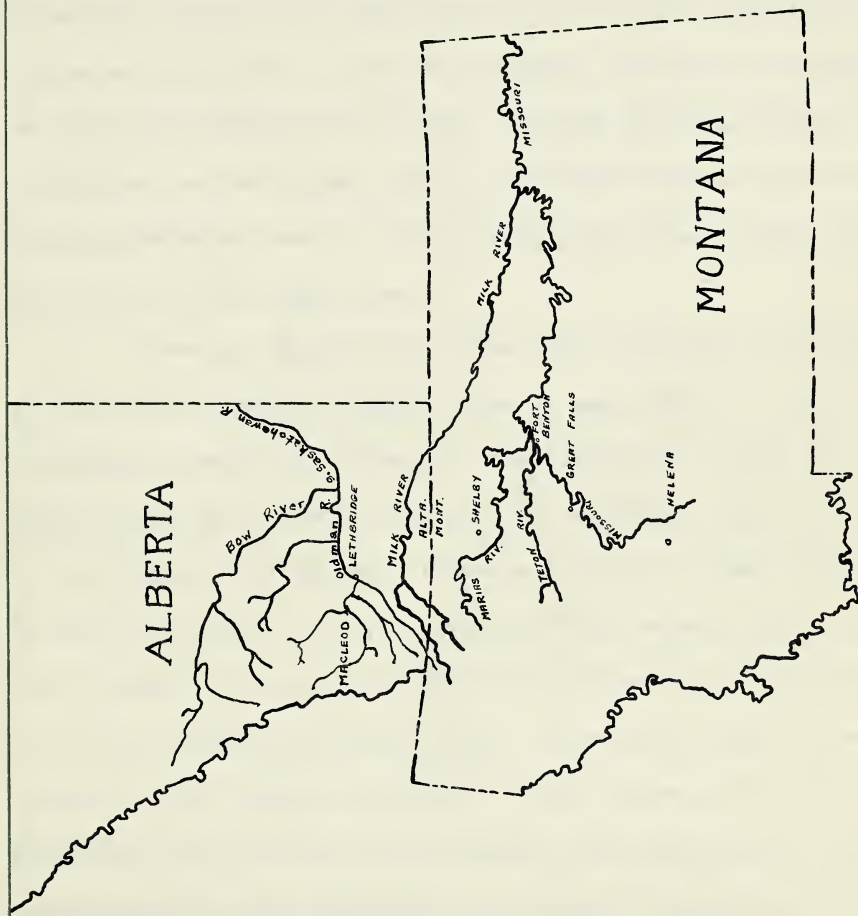
GERALD L. BERRY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA,

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Chapter I The 49th Parallel: a Man-Made Boundary

The 49th Parallel was established as a boundary line between Canada and the United States for that part of their territories east of the Rocky Mountains by Convention between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, October 2, 1818. The same Convention provided for joint occupancy by the two countries of the Oregon territory for a period of ten years, and this arrangement was extended indefinitely in 1827. The 49th Parallel was also established as the boundary west of the Rocky Mountains by the Buchanan-Pakenham Treaty of 1846, which automatically ended the joint occupation of the Oregon area.

However, the history of the 49th Parallel as a boundary line and as a projected boundary line is much older. In the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century the British interests in the northern portion of the continent were in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. After hostilities in Queen Anne's War were concluded in 1712, the Hudson's Bay Company stated terms which seemed to it desirable for the establishment of a boundary line by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. The company wished to have included in the treaty a provision to keep France south of a line extending from Cape Perdrix in Labrador, Latitude North 58° 30', southwestward to Lake Mistassini, and thence through that lake. (1)

1. Mills, David, Reports on the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, 1877, pp. 156-7; cited in Paullin, C. O., Early Choice of the Forty Ninth Parallel as a Boundary Line, Canadian Historical Review, IV, 1923, p. 127.

Nothing was done regarding the drawing of a boundary by the Treaty of Utrecht, except that Article 10 of the Treaty provided for the appointment of commissioners to establish the same. As no immediate action was taken, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1714 again made a memorial to the government, this time urging the extension of the boundary from Lake Mistassini southwestward into North Latitude 49°. (2)

2. Mills, op. cit. p. 173, cited in Paullin, op. cit. p. 128.

Parallel as the prospective boundary. When the British Government finally appointed its commissioners under the Treaty of Utrecht in September, 1719, it instructed them to obtain the line requested by the Hudson's Bay Company, and further instructed them that where the said line cut the 49th Parallel a new line should begin and extend westward along the parallel. (3)

3. Ibid, p. 175.

No settlement of the boundary resulted from the deliberations of the commissioners, but the combination of the reference in the Treaty of Utrecht, the deliberations of the commissioners, the memorial of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the claims of the British Government, led both cartographers and historians into the error of confusing the attempt to establish the boundary with an actual settlement. Thus in 1738, Salmon states in reference to Article 10 of the Treaty of Utrecht:

"Commissioners did afterwards settle the limits by an imaginary line drawn from a Promontory situate on the Atlantick Ocean in 58° 30', and running from thence

South-West indefinitely to the Latitude of 49°." (4)

4. Salmon, Thomas, Modern History, IV, p. 349, cited in Paullin, op. cit. p. 129.

Similarly in 1749, the southern limits of the Hudson's Bay Company are described by Douglass:

"The true Definition of it is, from the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713; viz. From a certain Promontory on the Atlantick Ocean, N. Lat. 58d. 30m. runs S. W. to Lake Mistasin (this includes the western half of Terra Labradore) thence S. W. to N. Lat. 49d. and from this Termination due West indefinitely." (5)

5. Douglass, Wm., A Summary, Historical and Political, I, p. 278, cited in Paullin, op. cit. p. 129.

In 1752, Bolton, on his Map of North America, shows the boundary claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1712-1714, and states in the legend, "The line...was established by Commissaries after the Peace of Utrecht." With the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, Canada passed into British possession, and the settlement of the boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory ceased to be urgent, with the result that nothing was done for forty years.

When the United States acquired Louisiana by the purchase agreement of 1803, the boundary became of paramount importance to them, and, under the impression that it had been established by the Treaty of Utrecht, they claimed this line as the boundary. In a letter to James Monroe, Minister to England, February 14, 1804, James Madison writes:

"There is reason to believe that the boundary between Louisiana and the British Territories north of it was actually fixed by commissioners appointed under the Treaty of Utrecht, and that this boundary was to run from the Lake of the Woods westwardly in latitude 49°." (6)

6. American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, p. 90.

Further evidence is to be found in a statement made by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney to the Spanish first secretary of state, April 20, 1805:

"The boundary between Canada and Louisiana on the one side, and the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Northwestern Co. on the other, was established by commissaries, by a line to commence at a cape or promontory on the ocean in 58° 31' north latitude, to run thence southwestwardly to latitude 49° north from the equator, and along that line indefinitely."(7)

7. Ibid, II, p. 664.

England, having thus limited her claim in 1719 to lands north of the 49th Parallel, weakened any claim that she might have had to lands south of the line, and in 1818 she accepted the Convention establishing the 49th Parallel as the boundary line to the Rocky Mountains.

There was no immediate necessity for marking the line even after it was decided upon, since there were no white men in any numbers in the area, and the Indians would have found no value in the establishment of the "Medicine Line". However, as traders and miners came to the western frontier areas, the survey of the boundary became more and more urgent, and the International Boundary Commission was set up in 1873-74. Until the line was marked, every man carried his own law in his holster and Jack Colt was the supreme arbiter. The Commission was working on the area which eventually became the Alberta-Montana boundary in the summer of 1874, and had it completely marked before the police came west in the fall of that year. The Commission was no small surveyor's party, but a well-equipped corps of men. The Canadian contingent was made up of 300 men in the surveying party and a corps of mounted scouts, while the Americans

hed 250 men escorted by two troops of the 7th U. S. Cavalry and five companies of U. S. Infantry. (8) The boundary was marked with stone

8. Shepherd, George, North of the Border--Up Canada Way, River Press Centennial. I wrote to Mr. Shepherd at his home in West Plains, Saskatchewan, re source, and in his reply dated Dec. 16, 1949, he said in part: "...information was secured from...John Peter Turner who was lately the Historian for the R. C. M. P."

cairns placed at half-mile intervals, so that no longer was there any doubt as to what territory belonged to each government.

Following settlement of the boundary, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1865 claimed compensation for the forts south of the 49th Parallel, which were given up at the time: Vancouver, Champoege, Cowlitz, George (Astoria), Cape Disappointment, Chinook (Pillar Rock), Nez Perce (Walla Walla), Hall, Boise, Umpqua, Okanagan, Colville, Kootanai, Flathead. They claimed no indemnity for the following, although they were on American territory: Simcoe, Carkeeman, Saleesh, Nisqually, Bellingham, and Spokane. (9)

9. Voorhis, E., Historic Forts and Trading Posts, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 1930. p. 132.

Chapter II The Physical Background of the Divided Alberta-Montana Area

The story of Montana-Alberta relationships begins in the prehistoric era when the two were one. Long before the white man came to this part of the world, the red man traversed the great spaces east of the Rocky Mountains, and long before the red man came, animals that would appear strange to us roamed the area without benefit of the Customs or Immigration officers when they crossed the 49th Parallel.

In the prehistoric period which geologists discuss so glibly, the area now known as Alberta and Montana was formed of layers of sedimentary rocks under water. Then a portion was raised, and we had an area with a climate similar to that of modern Florida. The flora was of a luxuriant tropical nature, while the fauna was dominated by huge reptiles known as dinosaurs. The coal deposits and fossil remains which are found in significant amounts bear ample witness to these facts. The next stage in geological development brought the contractions which resulted in upthrusts of the Rocky Mountains and the Cypress Hills. The Rocky Mountain chain extends as a skeletal backbone for the whole continent, providing part of the western boundary of Alberta, and the western portion of Montana. Because of climatic changes during this mountain building period, the dinosaur era ended, but warmer periods followed, as fossil remains of sabre-toothed tigers and small three-toed horses give evidence. Then the continental ice-cap was pushed down from an area west of Hudson Bay to cover most of Alberta and the north-

eastern part of Montana. In this area only the crest of the Cypress Hills, an island of approximately 88 square miles, was left exposed. Since the ice-cap was not formed by excessively low temperatures but was forced down from the more frigid north, there is no reason to assume that life could not have persisted on the top of the Cypress Hills throughout the ice age, and there is reason to believe that some life did exist. Even today we still find survivals of some sub-tropical animal and plant life in the area--scorpions, lizards, black-widow spiders, wasps, yucca grass, and orchids. The movement of the ice-cap filled old stream beds and cut new ones which were left in its wake. Since it receded about 30,000 years ago, surface changes have come about through the less spectacular agencies of wind and water erosion. (1)

1. Strickland, E. H., Department of Entomology, University of Alberta, cited by W. Eggleston, Lethbridge Herald, Aug. 11, 1949: "In prehistoric times, the climate of Alberta was much warmer than now, and the area was covered with luxuriant vegetation, indicated by coal and fossil deposits. It all ended with the coming of the ice age, which covered the vast prairies of North America--with the exception of the Cypress Hills. Ice apparently never completely covered these hills....I see no reason for assuming that life could not have persisted on this...island of bare ground throughout the ice age."

The areas of southern Alberta and northern Montana with which we are chiefly concerned belong to what Canadian geologists refer to as the Third Prairie Steppe, while the same area is divided by American geologists into two sections, generally called the long-grass prairie and the short-grass plains areas. Both the province and the state have Rocky Mountain Foothill areas, much more

prominent, however, in the former. The Canadian technical designation for the area is Area 4b, Cretaceous Plateau, Upper; Third Prairie Steppe; while the designation of the American geologists is Area U. S. 13, Missouri Plateau Glaciated and Missouri Plateau Unglaciated. (2)

2. Kroeber, Alfred L., Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, University of California Press, 1939. p. 195.

The topography over large areas of Montana and Alberta is dissimilar. The mountains of the state break abruptly from the plain, leaving little of the foothills area so important in the province. Dr. R. L. Rutherford of the University of Alberta gives some reasons for this difference. In Alberta the Rocky Mountains consist of a series of folded and faulted strata with evidence of increasing deformation from east to west, bringing to the surface successively older geological units as one progresses westward. On approaching the mountains in Montana, the first major uplift that one contacts has been of a magnitude to raise Precambrian strata to the surface, resulting in an entirely different physiography. There is a striking difference in the plains areas. In Alberta deformation resulted in broad synclinal and anticlinal areas of sedimentary rocks. In Montana there is a series of massive igneous intrusions, laid bare by erosion, elevated to fairly high levels, and surrounded by large sedimentary basins. (3)

3. Rutherford, R. L., Department of Geology, University of Alberta, to M. H. Long, January 31, 1950.

Neither Alberta nor Montana is at present or is likely to

become a centre of heavy industry. Both are devoted to primary production of the farm, forest, and mine--wheat, livestock, building materials, coal and oil. Montana has considerably more metallic minerals, especially gold and copper, than Alberta, but these alone do not provide a basis for north and south trade.

The fact that the mountain ranges run north and south gives certain unity to the area. However, the north-south direction of the mountains results in the streams flowing in an easterly direction. This would seem to encourage an east and west flow of transportation, but the streams are all small and sufficiently shallow to permit easy crossing. Thus, while there is little natural encouragement of north-south traffic, there is but little barrier to it.

From earliest times the Old North Trail ran north and south; then the Whoop-up Trail followed the ancient track; later the Sunshine Trail became a tourist-worn highway; and today the Alaska Highway is a bond of union and a supply line to the last great frontier of the North.

Chapter III The Aborigines

The origin of the Indians is not definitely established, but it is thought that they crossed at a very early period from Asia, and thence spread southward. There is a reasonably well-defined Indian trail which extends the length of the continent just east of the Rocky Mountains known as the Old North Trail, and over this trail the earliest Indians probably came to America. (1)

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1. McClintock, Walter, *The Old North Trail, or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfoot Indians*, Macmillan, London, 1910. He cites on page 434 the following account of Bring-Down-the-Sun, an old Blackfoot chief: "There is a well known trail we call the Old North Trail. It runs north and south along the Rocky Mountains. No one knows how long it has been used by the Indians. My father told me it originated in the migration of a great tribe of Indians from the distant north to the south, and all the tribes have, ever since, continued to follow in their tracks. The Old North Trail is now becoming overgrown with moss and grass, but it was worn so deeply by many generations of travellers, that the travois tracks and horse trails are still plainly visible....In many places the white man's roads and towns have obliterated the Old North Trail. It forked (sic) where the city of Calgary now stands. The right fork ran north into the Barren Lands as far as people live. The main trail ran south along the eastern side of the Rockies, at a uniform distance from the mountains, keeping clear of the forest, and outside of the foothills. It ran close to where the city of Helena now stands, and extended south into the country inhabited by a people with dark skins, and long hair falling over their faces (the Mexicans)."
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The early Indians in all likelihood used dogs as beasts of burden, with travois made of two poles fastened together above the dogs' shoulders with a platform slung between for carrying their small possessions. In later times, when they acquired the horse, the travois was still used, and traces of the more used trails were easily found when the white man came to the region. The Old North Trail

was then well-defined from the Mackenzie River to Mexico, as it was still being much used by the Indians in following the annual trek of the buffalo north and south, and also for war parties. The trail, following the base of the mountains as it did, crossed many streams, and well-known fords became favorite camp sites, where the Indians stopped to perform tribal rites, to make pemmican, and to bury the dead. Such camp sites are well marked even at the present time with tepees and fire circles of stones.

The Indians of the Alberta-Montana region in the period after the white man came were the tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy, which ranged from the Missouri River to the North Saskatchewan, and from the Cypress Hills to the Rocky Mountains. The legends of the Blackfoot bear out other evidence that they came from the north. Their legends inform us that in very early times they were held as slaves in the north--hence the terms Great and Lesser Slave Lakes. Ultimately they became so numerous and powerful that they drove their masters before them, and conquered a vast area south and east to the Yellowstone River, an area which they held until it was wrested from them by the whites. Henday bears out this legend by referring to all the Blackfoot Confederacy as Slave Indians. The tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy, except the Sarcee, speak the same basic language, a language which also indicates origin in the north and a southward migration. Some of their words for direction, for example, are: North--Aputosokts, back or behind; South--Amskapokts, ahead; East--Pinapokts, down the river; West--Ometukts, up river, following it

to its source. (2)

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2. Middleton, Archdeacon S. H., Lethbridge Herald, Anniversary, Dec. 11, 1947, p. 9, section 6. NOTE: Hereafter this edition will be referred to in footnotes as LH Ann. Archdeacon Middleton spent forty years on the Blood Reserve at Cardston, Alberta, and is familiar with much Indian lore.
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The Blackfoot Confederacy was made up of five tribes, generally called the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Gros Ventre, and Sarcee. These five tribes were all recognized very early, as Franklin thus divided them:

"They are divided into five nations. First the Pawansticceythin Yoonnc, or Fall Indians, so named from their residence on the falls of the Saskatchewan River. (These are the Gros Ventre, afterwards found on the headwaters of the Missouri.) Second, the Peganoo-cythinyoowuc Pegans, or Muddy River Indians. Third, the Meethco-thinyoowuc, or Blood Indians. Fourth, the Cuskoeteh-wawthesseetuck, or Blackfoot Indians. Lastly the Sassees, or Circees (Sarcee)." (3)

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3. Franklin, J., Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819-20-21-22, Murray, London, 1823. p. 108. Cited in Macrae, A. O., History of the Province of Alberta, Western Canada History Co., 1912. p. 81.
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The Blackfoot or Siksika, the Blood or Kainah, the Peigan, and the Gros Ventre or Fall or Atsina were all tribes of the western division of the Algonkin Indians, but of such a diversity of language as to indicate a very early movement to the plains areas. They are the only tribes to be found in the mountain foothills area in the earliest period of white infiltration. (4) Interesting experiments

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4. Kroeber, op. cit. pp. 86-83.
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carried out by Matson and Schrader seem to indicate that there is probably no relationship in origin of these tribes and other American Indians. While all other American Indians are predominantly of

blood group O, the Blackfoot and Blood show a predominance of blood group A which is too great to be explained by any admixture or crossing. (5)

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5. Matson, G. A., and Schrader, H. F., Blood Grouping Among the Blackfoot and Blood Tribes of American Indians, Journal of Immunology, XXV, 1933, pp. 155-163.
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The Sarcee was a small tribe of Athapascan Indians which had separated from its kinsmen in the north and had formed a political alliance with the Blackfoot Confederacy. (6)

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6. Kroeber, loc. cit.
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There is an interesting legend of the origin of the three original tribes of the Blackfoot:

"Long years ago when their great forefathers crossed the Mountains of the Setting Sun and settled along the sources of the Missouri and the South Saskatchewan, it came to pass that a chief had three sons: Kenna, or the Blood; Peaginon, or the Wealth; and a third, who was nameless. The two first were great hunters: they brought to their father's lodge rich store of moose and elk meats, and the buffalo fell before their unerring arrows; but the third, or nameless one, ever returned empty handed from the chase, until his brothers mocked him for his want of skill. One day the old chief said to this unsuccessful hunter: 'My son, you cannot kill the moose, your arrows shun the buffalo, the elk is too fleet for your footsteps, and your brothers mock you because you bring no meat into the lodge; but see, I will make you a great hunter,' and the old chief took from the lodge fire a piece of burnt stick and, wetting it, he rubbed the feet of his son with the blackened charcoal, and he named him Sat-Sea-Qua, or the Blackfoot, and evermore Sat-sea-qua was a mighty hunter, and his arrows flew straight to the buffalo and his feet moved swift on the chase." (7)

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7. Macrae, A. O., History of the Province of Alberta, Western Canada History Co., 1912. p. 83.
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From these three sons are supposed to be descended the three tribes of Blackfoot (Sat-sea-qua or Siksika), Blood (Kenna or

Kainah), and Peigan (Peaginson). There are other tales of the origin of the names, but this seems least like a white man's explanation.

The Indians of these tribes were physically, culturally, and intellectually well developed. The men were generally tall, well-formed, fine-looking fellows. Although nomadic, they had achieved a highly complex social and cultural organization under a patriarchal chief, with rigid tribal customs and a code of morals and ethics almost Spartan in its simplicity. (8) Archdeacon S. H.

8. Jenness, Diamond, Indians of Canada, Department of Mines, Bulletin 65, Ottawa, 1932. p. 127 and pp. 317-326.

Middleton quotes a passage from a conversation which he had with Chief Yellow Bull of the Blood shortly after he came among the Indians:

"We listened to your words about the Ten Commandments, which you said God wrote on two tablets of stone. He may have done that, but long before you Holy White Men or any white men came here, we had five laws of our own; and while you white men may have your Ten Commandments, we keep our five better than you keep your ten....In the long ago, our forefathers were wise men. They taught their children songs, games, rituals, dances, prayers; what they ought to do, what they ought not to do; and amongst these things were five laws which governed the tribe....The first was murder; we always demanded a life for a life. Two-- theft; the thief had to restore the stolen goods. Three-- adultery; an ear was cut off for the first offence, both ears and added punishment for subsequent offences. Fourth-- cowardice; the person was clothed in woman's garb, made to do menial tasks around the camp and not allowed to marry. Fifth--treachery; brought back to camp and shot at sight."(9)

9. Middleton, loc. cit.

Primarily the Indians were sun worshippers, but they also had a lesser, mysterious, more homely deity whom they called Napi, the Old Man. (10) Anything which the Indian could not understand was

10. Jenness, op. cit. p. 189

believed to be magic, and therefore the work of Napi. When they heard that one of their streams came out of the side of a mountain, they attributed this marvel to him and called the stream, "The River the Old Man Played On". One of their favorite camp sites, a place where many of their great Sun Dances were held, was at the ford where the Old North Trail crossed this river, "The-Place-Where-the-Trail-Crosses-the-Oldman-River", and it was to this site that Jerry Potts in 1874 led Colonel Macleod and the first contingent of the North West Mounted Police. The Blackfoot like Colonel Macleod, whom they called Stamixotokan (Bull's Head), so well that they renamed their ford, "The-Place-Where-Stamixotokan-Stays".

While some of their legends and myths rank with those of classical times, and some of their art is still used in modern design, it was not alone in the cultural fields that western life was enriched by contact with the Indians. Long experience with the climate and elements had taught them many practical techniques which were passed on to their white brothers. Not a few white infants in the early days of Alberta and Montana were carried in moss bags. Many recipes have a basis in Indian knowledge of plants and roots. Methods of hunting and first aid remedies were adopted in whole or in part. The buffalo, from which the Indian secured every basic necessity of food, clothing, shelter and fuel, was never domesticated, because it was so plentiful and so easily killed.

The Blackfoot Confederacy ranged freely from the Missouri to the Bow and Elbow, and swept this area free of all other Indians.

With the deadly enemies of the Cree to the north and the Crow to the south, they seldom ventured outside their own preserve, except to make forays along the Old North Trail against the Cree, and to trade with the white men at Rocky Mountain House and Fort Edmonton. Before the white men invaded their country, the Blackfoot lived a happy and contented existence, and viewed with complacency their own parochial world.

In the decades just before the coming of the police in 1874, this idyllic existence came to an end. Matthew Cocking, a Hudson's Bay Company trader, spent the winter of 1772-73 with the Blackfoot Confederacy, and found them a friendly and hospitable people, (11) but in 1806, Captain Lewis of the Lewis and Clark

11. Morton, A. S., History of the Canadian West to 1870-71,
Nelson, Toronto, p. 285.

expedition shot a Blackfoot in the border country, and for the next twenty-five years no white man was safe in their domain. However, from 1830 onward the traders from the south gradually re-established friendly relations, and it was not long before the trader was following the Old North Trail into the very heart of the Blackfoot country. The members of the Confederacy traded both north and south, with the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company respectively. At one time the Indians reported that the Hudson's Bay Company had offered them rewards if they would kill all the whites on the Missouri--a charge which nowadays would have caused an international "incident", but which was then dropped after Governor James Bird of the Hudson's Bay Company vehemently denied the accusation when

approached by Kenneth McKenzie of Fort Benton. (12)

12. Vaughn, Robert, Then and Now, Tribune Printing Co., Minneapolis, 1900. p. 191.

The smallpox plague of 1869 which so ravaged the Blackfoot Confederacy was caused by the malevolence of a single white man. An American trader named Evans and his partner had trouble with the Blackfoot in 1868, the partner being slain and all their horses stolen. Evans made his way back to St. Louis, where he swore revenge. Purchasing several bales of blankets infected with smallpox, he set them out on the banks of the Missouri in Indian country, and the plague swept through the tribes like wildfire. (13) The Blackfoot

13. Kelly, L. V., The Range Men, Briggs, Toronto, 1913. p. 85.

tribe alone lost nearly 1400 men, women and children in five months. (14)

14. Overholser, J., Centenary History of Fort Benton, Benton, 1946.

Late in the fall of 1870 the last great Indian battle was fought on the present site of Lethbridge. The Cree thought the time opportune, as the Blackfoot tribes had been decimated with the smallpox plague of the previous year. The story of this last great battle has been well preserved, for among the Peigan who took part in it was Jerry Potts, a halfbreed who was to become the most famous of the North West Mounted Police scouts. Through the coulees and across the river the battle raged, the Blackfoot, although victorious, losing about forty killed and having about fifty wounded. Although the exact loss of the Cree is not ascertainable because many of them were drowned in the river, conservative estimates place the number at more than two hundred. The following year the Cree sent gifts

of tobacco to the Blackfoot and a formal treaty of peace was made on the Red Deer River. "The powerful Blackfoot Confederacy still exists, but is sadly shorn of its one time greatness. Smallpox commenced the work, whisky continued it, and now the relentless Moloch of advancing civilization with its attendant trail of disease, is causing these Indians to disappear like snow before the warm breath of the Chinook." (15)

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15. Kennedy, G. A., Last Great Indian Battle Fought on Present Site of Lethbridge, Lethbridge News, April 30, 1890.
 NOTE: A. M. S. in the Lethbridge Herald Golden Jubilee edition, July 11, 1935, reports a conversation with Howell Harris in 1897, in which Harris claimed that he and another trader watched the whole affair from across the river, and were in touch with Jerry Potts during the battle.
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While Kennedy's comment was perhaps true in 1890, such a statement is far from the truth today. In 1801, Alexander Mackenzie estimated the population of the Blackfoot Confederacy as approximately 9000 (16), while Hind estimated a population of 7600 in 1858. (17)

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16. Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence Through the Continent of North America in 1789 and 1793, London, 1801. p. lxx.
 17. Hind, H. Y., North West Territory, Reports of Progress, Toronto, 1859. p. 115.
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The ravages of smallpox and whisky reduced the number rapidly in the sixties and seventies. However, with family allowances, better care, and medical supervision, the population is again increasing. At December 31, 1948, the numbers of these Indians in Alberta were: Blood, 1844; Blackfoot, 1105; Peigan, 653; Sarcee, 192; a total of 3,794. (18)

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18. Gooderham, G. H., Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, Calgary, letter to the writer, Dec. 9, 1949.
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Chapter IV The Saskatchewan Approach

White infiltration, at first slow and uncertain, gradually increased in weight and momentum until finally it swept all before it and relegated the once lordly red man to some of the less desirable and more arid regions of the Alberta-Montana area. There may have been white men on the plains as early as the year 1000, but if the Norse explorers of that period did move that far westward no convincing traces have yet been discovered.

Among the white men who encountered the Blackfoot Confederacy before 1800 were Anthony Henday, Matthew Cocking, David Thompson and Peter Fidler. Probably the first white man ever to make contact with the Blackfoot was Anthony Henday, who left York Factory, June 26, 1754, and arrived at a point possibly on the Red Deer River near Nevis on October 11. Here he first saw Indians on horseback, and counted 322 tepees in their camp. (1) Another

1. Morton, op. cit., p. 19 and pp. 245-247.

Hudson's Bay Company trader from York Factory, Matthew Cocking, spent the winter of 1772-3 among the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, and Sarcee, to whom he referred as the Confederacy of Waterfall Indians. He reported that they had attained a reasonable degree of advanced culture, using earthen pots for cooking and possessing enough agricultural knowledge to plant tobacco gardens. Cocking found the Blackfoot a hospitable people--they as yet had no reason to fear or to hate the whites. (2) David Thompson spent the winter of 1787

2. Ibid, p. 285

with the Indian chief, Sauganappee, on the Bow River near its junction with the Swift, now called the Elbow River. (3)

3. Ibid, p. 444

As the century closed, the two great Canadian fur companies were establishing themselves firmly in the area which was to become Alberta. The North West Company built Fort Augustus about twenty miles east of the present site of Edmonton in 1795, and the same year the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Edmonton near the opposition post--the most western post at that time. (4) In 1799 the North

4. Ibid, p. 463.

West Company established Rocky Mountain House, and the Hudson's Bay Company raised an adjacent fort, Acton House. These posts, combined after the union in 1821 as Rocky Mountain House, served the Blackfoot Confederacy more or less regularly for the next seventy-five years. (5) Peter Fidler built Chesterfield House on the South

5. Ibid.

Saskatchewan River at the mouth of the Red Deer River in 1800 for the Hudson's Bay Company, although this post was little used except in 1804 and 1805 because there was but little beaver in the area. (6)

6. Ibid, p. 511

Both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company were primarily interested in furs, and as the best furs were found in the north, they made little attempt to penetrate into what is now southern Alberta. Neither participated to any large extent in the vast robe trade of the period 1850 to 1880.

Both companies moved into northern Montana territory west of the Rockies and parts of what is now Washington and Idaho in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The North West Company sent Finan McDonald and David Thompson from Rocky Mountain House through the mountains to the Columbia River, on which they established a temporary fort, Kootenai Post, near Lake Windermere in 1807. This post was replaced the following year by Saleesh House, or Kullyspell House, on Clark's Fork. (7) The Hudson's Bay Company did not enter

7. Ibid, pp. 481-484.

the Montana field until 1810, when Joseph Howse built Howse House at the north end of Flathead Lake, a post which was used only one season. (8)

8. Ibid, p. 496.

Chapter V The Missouri Approach

Until the opening of the nineteenth century there was little or no activity of white men south of the 49th Parallel in the Montana region, but on April 30, 1803, a big business transaction focussed the attention of the American government on the Missouri area. On that date the United States Government concluded a tremendous \$15,000,000 land deal with the French Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte--the Louisiana Purchase. This vast, vaguely defined tract of land included most of the future treasure state, Montana, any one of whose great gold gulches would have paid the purchase price many times over. Several weeks prior to the purchase, in January, 1803, the United States Government had appropriated \$2500 for an overland journey to the west coast, but now that they owned the intervening area plans were rushed to completion, and the Lewis and Clark expedition was launched. This party passed through Montana both on the westward and eastward trips in 1805 and 1806.

An event of great importance to white relationships with the Blackfoot Confederacy occurred during the return journey in 1806. Lewis, with three members of the party, explored the Teton and Marias regions late in July. One evening they camped with a party of eight Blackfoot. Early the next morning the Indians tried to run off with the four rifles of the white men, but one of the latter, Reuben Fields, grappled with them, stabbing and killing one of the Indians. When the remaining seven Indians then tried to

run off the horses, Lewis first warned them and then shot one of them. (1) This episode was to result in much bloodshed in the

1. Fletcher, Robert H., American Adventure, American Pioneer Trails Association, New York, 1945, p. 47.

Blackfoot country for the next twenty-five years, and no white man was safe henceforth until Kenneth McKenzie (2) finally established

2. NOTE: Kenneth McKenzie was born in Scotland. Placed in control of the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri, he retired in 1839 with a fortune of \$50,000. He died in St. Louis, 1861.

friendly relations with the Confederacy in 1828. Repercussions were felt from one end of the Blackfoot country to the other, and Fort Augustus, nearly 400 miles away, was destroyed by the Blackfoot in 1807.

Following the Lewis and Clark expedition, American traders started to move up the Missouri. Manuel Lisa (3) went as far as the

3. James, General Thomas, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1916. p. 257.

Yellowstone, and up the latter to the mouth of the Big Horn, where he established a post in 1807. The following year he organized the Missouri Fur Company, which was active on the Yellowstone until 1820 when Lisa died. In 1810, John Jacob Astor formed the American Fur Company, the trading concern which was to become the greatest of all the American companies, and which played a prominent part in opening up the upper Missouri country. There is evidence that Astor offered the North West Company a one-third share in his venture in order to avoid competition, but the Canadian company declined the offer. (4) So powerful did the American Fur Company become that it

4. Morton, op. cit. p. 489. also Bell, W. S., Old Fort Benton, Helena, 1909.

even disputed the title of the Government to the land about its forts, as is shown by the following excerpt from a land title transfer at Fort Benton, April 4, 1877: "...all the rights, title, and interest the grantor may have in and to all the land south of said old Fort alleged to be held by the United States...." (5)

5. River Press, Fort Benton, Centennial, August 21, 1946. Hereafter in footnotes this paper will be referred to as RP Cent.

The white traders who ventured into the Blackfoot country during this period literally carried their lives in their hands, for the whole Confederacy were implacable enemies of all white men following the incident with Captain Lewis mentioned above. John Colter (6), in the employ of Manuel Lisa, three times made trips

6. Vinton, S., John Colter, discoverer of Yellowstone Park, New York, 1926. NOTE: Colter was with the Lewis and Clark expedition; joined Lisa in 1807; was credited with discovery of Yellowstone Park; died in St. Louis, 1813.

into the Yellowstone country and three times was driven out in the years immediately following the organization of the Missouri Fur Company. The third time the Indians stripped him naked and forced him to run for his life, giving him but a short start across cactus-studded plains before setting several braves on his track. Colter reached safety, but he told Lisa that the Yellowstone country was "bad medicine" and refused to return. In 1809, Manuel Lisa and Andrew Henry tried to establish a post at the Three Forks, but Henry, left in charge, lost at least twenty men before he finally withdrew. (7) The Rocky Mountain Fur Company, organized by William

7. Chittenden, H. M., American fur trade of the Far West, Harper, 1902, v. 1.

Ashley and Andrew Henry in 1822, outfitted an expedition to try to establish a post in the Blackfoot country in that year, but on June 2, 1823, a battle resulted in Ashley's having twelve men killed and fourteen wounded, whereupon he decided to withdraw. (8) A

8. Ibid

Missouri Fur Company expedition under Jones and Immell consisting of twenty-nine men moved up the Missouri in 1823. It was ambushed by the Indians on May 31, and seven men, including both leaders, were killed. The loss of property, including horses and beaver, was estimated at \$15,000. (9)

9. Ibid.

"Rightly or wrongly, the Missouri traders attributed these acts of persistent hostility to the instigation of the British traders...whether these suspicions were well-founded or not, it was a fact that the fire-arms with which the Indians attacked the traders came from across the line, and the furs which they took from our people quickly found their way back there in payment." (10)

10. Ibid, pp. 149-150.

Kenneth McKenzie and his associates finally made friendly contact with the Indians for the American Fur Company in 1828. Two important considerations which contributed to McKenzie's success were the facts that he was married to a Peigan princess and that he employed men who were able to speak the Indian dialects. He built Fort Floyd, sometimes called the first Fort Union, in 1828, replacing it after it was burned in 1831 by the better known Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone. In 1831 he made a formal

treaty with the Blackfoot, a mutual agreement not to prey upon each other. (11) He sent James Kipp (12) with twenty-five men to

11. Ibid, pp. 387 et. seq.

12. Ibid. NOTE: James Kipp was born in Canada in 1788. He came to the Missouri fur trade in 1822, and was almost immediately employed by the American Fur Company, remaining with that company until his retirement in 1860. He kept a diary for forty years, but unfortunately this was destroyed by fire in 1870. His son, Joe Kipp, played an important part in early Alberta-Montana history.

build Fort Peigan at the mouth of the Marias, and although the fort was used only until the following March it carried on a \$46,000 trade in beaver in that time. It was at Fort Peigan that Kipp held his famous three day party for a thousand Indians on one barrel of alcohol.

Three events contributed to make 1832 a memorable year in the history of the Indian trade on the Missouri. On July 9, the United States Government prohibited the introduction of intoxicants into the Indian country--a law seldom invoked and generally disregarded by the traders. David D. Mitchell established Fort McKenzie, one of the most famous of the Missouri forts, a few miles above the site of Fort Peigan. This fort was visited by several notables in the next few years: George Catlin, famous Indian artist; Prince Maximilian of Wied, adventurer; and John J. Audubon, well-known ornithologist. In this same year the American Fur Company proved in the eyes of the Indians its undoubted superiority to the Hudson's Bay Company by bringing a "fireboat" (steamboat) to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone. (13)

13. Ibid

In 1833, Alexander Culbertson became manager of the American Fur Company on the Upper Missouri and remained one of the chief traders for many years. He entered the employ of the company in 1829 when only twenty years old, and became one of the most successful of the Indian traders. He married a Blood princess, Natawista Iksana, and raised a considerable family. After being in charge of Fort McKenzie from 1834 to 1842, he was moved to Fort Laramie, but was recalled the following year at the then munificent salary of \$5000 per annum.

During Culbertson's short term at Fort Laramie, Fort McKenzie was left in charge of F. A. Chardon and Alexander Harvey. The latter was a sadist, one of the most cruel men who ever participated in the upper Missouri trade. (14) Early in 1842 the Indians

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14. John J. Stevens, in a short article in the River Press Centennial, The Toughest and Meanest Man in Montana, writes as follows: "Alexander Harvey was one hundred and sixty five pounds of meanness and greased lightning. He never knew the word 'defeat'....Many men faced his trip-hammer fists and lightning draw--but none weathered the storm of ferocity that fell upon them. Most of the women along the river from Missouri to Montana would claw your eyes out--if a word was said against Harvey--but men cursed him often, but, also, silently. Harvey was kind to his friends, but vicious to his enemies. When Harvey was chief trader at Fort McKenzie...he led the massacre of 30 Indians and according to Culbertson, he scalped them all, and danced a war-dance. Even the Indians trembled as they heard his piercing yells and hideous laughter. When dismissed from Fort McKenzie for his cruelty, he...armed only with a rifle walked all the way to St. Louis overland. By threatening his bosses, he was reinstated....One by one he hunted down the two dozen or more men who had squealed on him. One by one he unmercifully beat each and every one into insensibility....Harvey died of natural causes at the age of forty-five....His obituary in the St. Louis paper... 'Here lies a brave, honest, and kind-hearted man.'"
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killed a pig which belonged to the post, and when pursued by Chardon they ambushed the whites and killed a Negro named Reese. Harvey immediately planned a terrible revenge. A cannon was loaded with lead trade balls, and when a band of Blackfoot came to trade it was fired into their midst while they were massed about the gate of the fort, killing twenty-one and wounding nine others who were afterwards slain. "That night the whites involved in the massacre danced a regular Indian scalp dance, waving the scalps of their victims." (15)

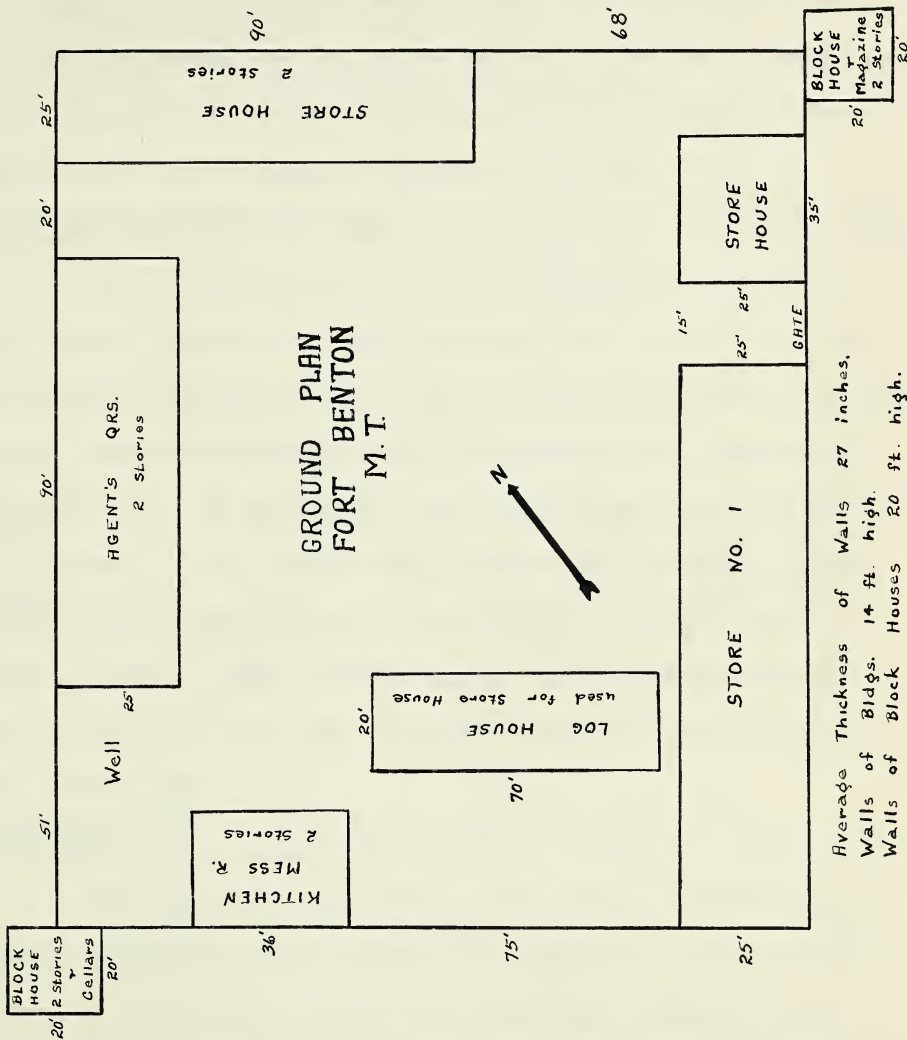
15. Bradley, Lt. James H., Journal, Contributions, v. 3, Montana Historical Society.

The traders spent a miserable few weeks cooped up in their fort following this episode, not daring to step outside the stockade, and as soon as the ice went out of the river they slipped down quietly to a new post at the mouth of the Judith variously known as Fort F. A. C. (for F. A. Chardon) or Fort Chardon. Fort McKenzie was burned by the Indians, and henceforth was known as Fort Brule. Culbertson was immediately recalled to make peace with the Indians, and Harvey was dismissed from the American Fur Company for his actions. He built a rival post, Fort Campbell, near Culbertson's new fort and did a thriving business until the American Fur Company bought him out in 1852. (16)

16. RP Cent.

During his second term on the upper Missouri, Culbertson was the founder of Fort Benton, a post that was to serve as the distribution centre for southern Alberta for forty years. Abandoning

Fort F. A. C., he established Fort Lewis, sometimes called Fort Cotton, in 1843, but this post was poorly located on the wrong side of the river and too far from the popular Teton camping grounds of the Indians, so he listened to their entreaties and moved the fort log by log down river about five miles to the present site of Fort Benton in 1846. At first called by the old name, the post was re-christened Fort Benton by Culbertson on Christmas Eve, 1850. The name was chosen in honor of Senator Thomas H. Benton, who had been instrumental in saving the trading license of the American Fur Company when it had become involved in illegal liquor activity. This tiny outpost of civilization, situated on the west side of the Missouri River about 3575 miles from its mouth, was destined to become the hub of a great trading empire which would extend over all of northern Montana and southern Alberta. Culbertson began to rebuild the fort of adobe in 1850, a job which required ten years to complete. The enclosing wall was 250 feet square, made of bricks 4 x 8 x 16 inches, placed end to end to make a wall 32 inches thick. There was no stockade, but two bastions were placed at diagonally opposite corners in such a manner as to give protection to all four walls. The buildings, also of adobe, faced the centre of the enclosure with the wall of the fort making the rear wall of each building. A large wooden gate faced the river, with a small postern gate within it for convenience. The usual garrison of the trading post consisted of a governor, clerk, interpreter, carpenter, blacksmith, cook, one or two hunters, and some three score laborers. The latter were ordinarily employed in



making adobe bricks and in cutting wood for fuel, but in emergency could be armed for the defence of the post. (17) The year following

17. Bell, op. cit.

the re-naming of the post, Culbertson made a trip from Fort Union to Fort Benton by wagon, and this wagon was said to be the first wheeled vehicle to enter the country now known as northern Montana, a forerunner of the great freighting trains of the future. (18)

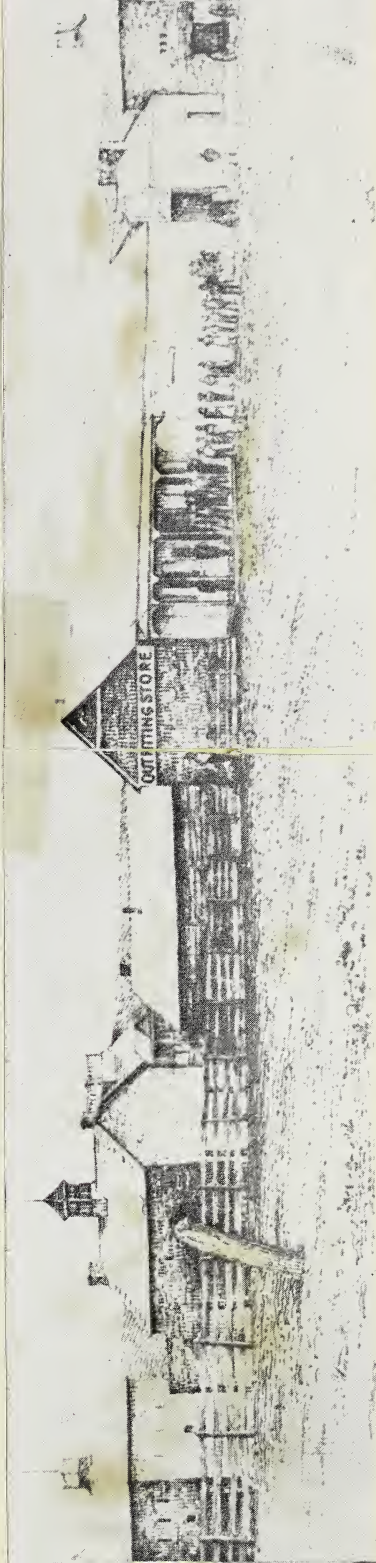
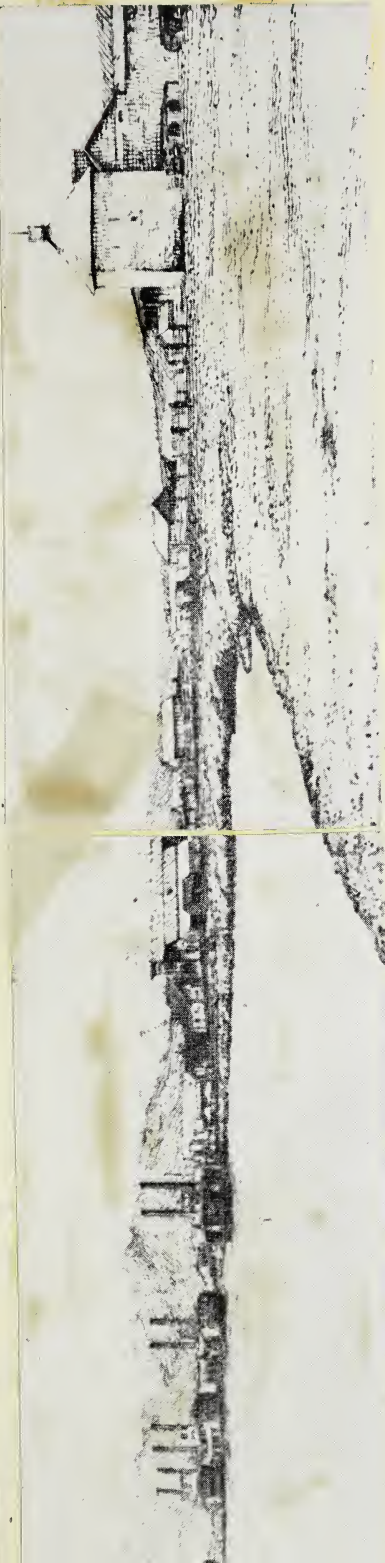
18. RP Cent; also Bell, op. cit.

Fort Benton was established for the purpose of the robe trade with the Indians, and from its opening day it was one of the most profitable of the company's posts. The average annual robe trade from the inception of the fort until the American Fur Company sold its holdings in 1865 was 20,000. This seemed large until the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo began in the middle seventies. The shipments for the next few years were enormous: in 1875, about 60,000; in 1876, 71,900; in 1877, 50,500, then a rapidly dwindling figure to 1882, the last year that robes played an important part in the trade. (19)

19. RP Cent.

The town flourished, and as civilization advanced the great companies withdrew from the scene to be replaced by private business. Culture, in the form of a Protestant missionary, Reverend Elkanah Mackey, arrived at Fort Benton in 1856, but the attempt to found a mission failed. (20) Matthew Carroll and George Steell left the

20. Contributions, Montana Historical Society, v. 10, 1940.



Original Sketches of Old Fort Benton made by the war department in 1869.

Photos by courtesy of C. W. Morrison

employ of the American Fur Company and set up the first independent business in Fort Benton in 1864. I. G. Baker then became chief clerk for the company, but he also began an independent business when the American Fur Company sold its holdings in 1865 to the Northwest Fur Company, owned by Hubbel, Hawley and Smith. T. C. Power and Brother (21) established their first store in 1867, and along with Carroll,

21. NOTE: In an interview with C. B. Power, son of T. C. Power, August 28, 1948, in Helena, he said that to his knowledge the old business records of the firm of T. C. Power and Bro. are not extant.

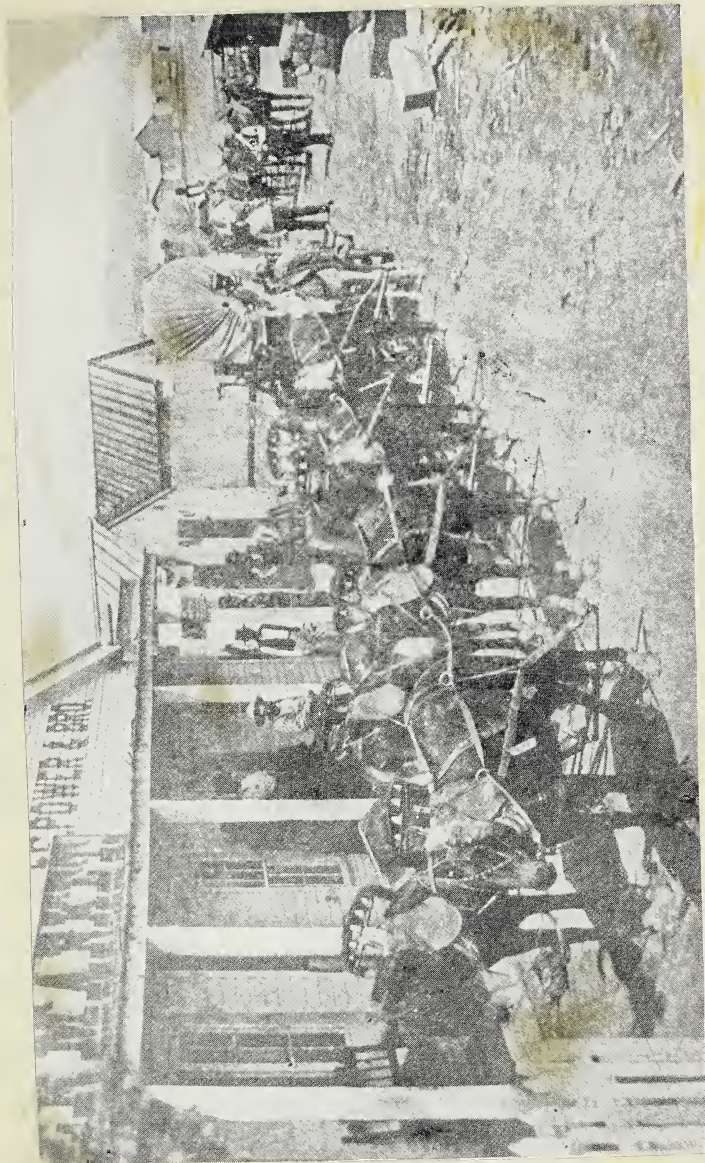
Steell and Baker became the pioneer merchants of Fort Benton. Thomas C. Power landed from Dakota, June 14, 1867, with a small stock of trade goods purchased on credit, and from this inauspicious beginning built one of the greatest of the early mercantile businesses in the Montana area. He was later to become the first United States Senator from the new State of Montana. (22) The Conrad brothers

22. Bowen, A. W., Progressive Men of Montana, Chicago, 1900.

bought shares in the Baker Company in 1874. Murphy, Neel and Company took over the bankrupt Carroll-Steell partnership in 1876, to become eventually one of the biggest of the freighting outfits, with over one hundred wagons on their lines and fifty men on the regular payroll. (23)

23. RP Cent.

When the Territory of Montana was created, May 26, 1864, Fort Benton held practically all the white population of Chouteau County, with about two hundred eligible voters for the first territorial elections which were held October 24. The first census at



WAGON TRAIN AT THE T. C. POWER STORE

Photo by courtesy of Pioneer Mercantile Company

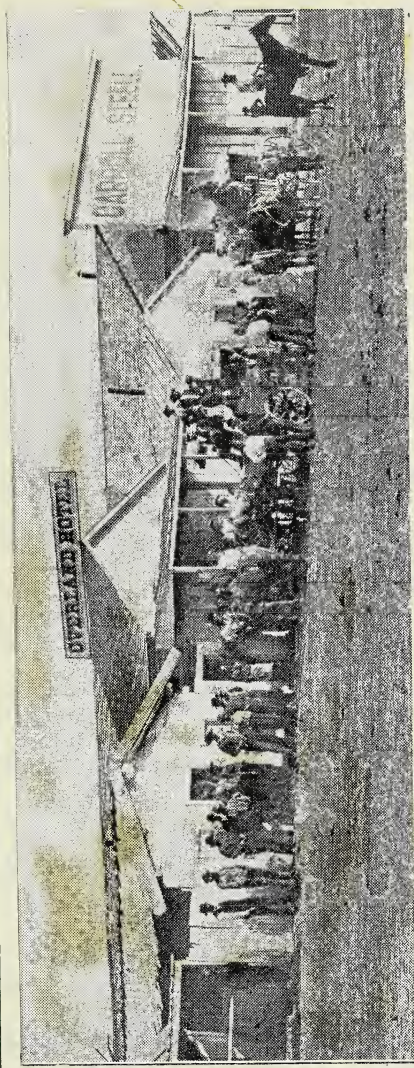
Fort Benton in 1870 reveals the following statistics: dwellings, 145; families, 115; white males, 272; white females, 13; colored males, 12; colored females, 6; Indian females, 14; halfbreed males, 36; halfbreed females, 62; Chinese males, 3; quarterbreed males, 12; quarterbreed females, 3. It is of interest to note the information concerning the business leaders of that year. I. G. Baker, aged 50, had property worth \$30,000; George Baker, aged 40, \$15,000; T. C. Power, aged 31, \$51,000; and Matt Carroll, aged 35, \$27,000. The data concerning country of origin reveal that 39 of the population came from Canada, plus one from Nova Scotia. (24)

24. NOTE: The man from Nova Scotia must have been either ignorant of the Confederation of Canada three years before, or too staunch a Nova Scotian to be classified as a Canadian.

Progress in Fort Benton was rapid and continuous. The first newspaper was the Benton Record, established in 1875 by John J. Healy (25) and W. H. Buck. Benton was incorporated as a city in

25. NOTE: Healy seems to have been a very versatile man, with his hand in every enterprise that appeared--whisky trader, freighter, sheriff, ferryman, and newspaper publisher. Not all his ventures were successful, and the newspaper was one that failed, the press being sold at sheriff's sale in 1885 for \$1400.

1883, with W. G. Conrad as the first mayor. The saying that all trails led out of Fort Benton was nearly true between 1860 and 1880. One could meet almost anywhere in the Northwest people who had been to Fort Benton, and if bull trains came into the picture, they were more than likely from Fort Benton, the head of navigation on the Missouri. It was said that in the gold rush days sixty per cent of all freight coming into Montana came to Benton. Fort Benton was at the anchor



FRONT STREET, FORT BENTON, in 1867 (above) and in 1878 (below)

Photos courtesy of the late Mrs. K. J. Rowe, and of Pioneer Mercantile Company.



end of the Whoop-up Trail, and the traffic on that trail alone made the post hum with activity in the seventies and eighties.

The steamboat history of the upper Missouri goes back to 1832, but it was not until 1860 that Pierre Chouteau and Captain John LaBarge reached Fort Benton in the "Chippewa" and established that point as the head of navigation. In the years that followed, Benton became a great trading centre, with the wharves and levees piled high with trade goods in the summer months when the river was navigable. The freighters toiled night and day to move the mountains of goods, and made fortunes over night. Between 1860 and 1866 the steamboat arrivals were few, the only traffic being provided by traders bringing supplies up river and shipping robes and furs down, but with the start of the gold rush to Montana the river trade flourished. The number of steamboat arrivals at Fort Benton in the following years was as follows: 1866-31, 1867-40, 1868-36, 1869-42, 1870-8, 1871-11, 1872-13, 1873-7, 1874-7, 1875-13, 1876-22, 1877-33, 1878-60, 1879-49, 1880-21, 1881-36, 1882-49, 1883-14, 1884-15, 1885-15, 1886-15, 1887-21, 1888-4, 1889-2, 1890-1. (26)

26. Contributions, Montana Historical Society, v. 1 and 3.

In the period between 1860 and 1890 there were about six hundred landings made at Fort Benton, with over 150 boats participating in the traffic at various times. Most of the trips were made by relatively few boats--the Helena, the Josephine, the Benton, the Rosebud, the Far West, the Red Cloud, and the Deer Lodge. There were four large steamboat lines, the Baker, the Power Block P,

the Peck, and the Coulson, in addition to a number of independents. The Red Cloud, the mainstay of the Baker line, was a favorite boat because of her speed, and it was this boat that the Mounted Police used in 1877 when a contingent came to western Canada via St. Paul, Bismarck, and the Missouri to Fort Benton. Freight rates varied from a high of 27 cents a pound in 1863 when boats were few, down to $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound in the gold rush days when competition was fierce, for the trip from St. Louis to Fort Benton. (27) In the four years of

27. Contributions, Montana Historical Society, v. 10.

the gold rush between 1866 and 1869, the boats were estimated to have carried over 10,000 miners to Benton.

Fortunes were made by the boats and the men who operated them. The "Peter Balen" brought up one cargo of 400 tons at $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, and the "Ida Stockdale", which was valued at \$20,000, netted \$42,500 for a single trip. The total freight and passenger charges in 1867 amounted to approximately \$3,000,000. One pilot, Captain Bill Massie, received a wage of \$7500 for making one round trip from St. Louis to Fort Benton, but it was "easy come, easy go" in those days, and he lost every cent of it in one evening's gambling in St. Louis. He flipped the last dime to decide whether he should buy a drink or a sandwich and coffee, and the dime rolled down a crack in the floor.

General Thomas F. Meagher spent his last night in Fort Benton. While acting as Governor of Montana, he came to Fort Benton, July 1, 1867, and was a dinner guest of I. G. Baker. After dinner

he boarded the steamboat "G. A. Thompson", and about ten o'clock in the evening fell overboard and drowned. (28) "So closed the life

28. NOTE: Meagher's Montana career lasted only two years. Above is the "official" account of his death. His body was never recovered from the shallow waters of the Missouri, despite an offered reward of \$10,000. Ugly rumors persisted that the Vigilantes had murdered him as a "Roman Catholic Dictator."

of one of the most picturesque characters in Montana's, and the world's, history. In his youth, Meagher, an Irish rebel, was sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered. This sentence was changed to exile to Tasmania; Meagher escaped, came to this country, fought in the Civil War, then came to Montana." (29)

29. RP Cent.

Risks were great on the river, and insurance rates were high, premiums running from 15 to 20 per cent of the value of the boat and the cargo. The loss of the Red Cloud in 1882 practically marked the end of the Baker line.

An examination of the list of steamboat arrivals shows a considerable recession in the river trade in the five years following 1870. This depression was the result of the ending of the gold rush. The languishing trade was revived by the coming of the Mounted Police to western Canada, and the influx of ranchers and settlers again caused a boom period for the river port. The Canadian business from 1875 to 1883 made up about twenty per cent of the total freight through Benton. In 1877, for example, total freight shipped via Fort Benton was 5,673 tons, of which 1,025 tons was for the Canadian Government. (30) Another depression in river trade is noted after

30. Overholser, op. cit.

1883, the year that the Canadian Pacific Railway was extended into southern Alberta, marking the end of north-south freighting. When the American railways reached Montana, the boats did less and less business, as they could not compete with the speed and all-year efficiency of the railroads. The last commercial trip up the Missouri was made in 1890.

The gold rush was a short-lived but important phase in the opening of the Montana region. Prospectors began to find gold in the gulches of northern Montana in the years following the middle of the century. Three men, John Owen, Samuel Caldwell, and Francois Finlay (better known as Benetsee), reported gold discoveries in 1852. Finlay reported his discovery to the Hudson's Bay Company, which kept it secret, fearing injury to the fur trade. A "mountaineer", John Silverthorne, traded gold at Fort Benton on October 1, 1854. Although Culbertson was not familiar with raw gold, he took Silverthorne's word that the commodity was gold and traded him \$1000 worth of goods on his own account rather than risk funds of the American Fur Company. Culbertson did very well for himself on the trade, as he later sold the gold to the mint for \$1525. James and Granville Stuart made important gold strikes in 1861. The gold rush followed the first really big discovery, at White's Bar in Grasshopper Gulch, now Bannack, August 16, 1862. (31)

31. RP Cent.

The beginning of the gold rush marked the end of an era. No longer was there a thin trickle of white traders, but a steady flow of miners and settlers began to pour into the country. Over 10,000 miners passed through Fort Benton, the head of navigation on the Missouri, in the late sixties, and the overflow spilled northward into Alberta. Numbers of Civil War veterans came west to find their fortunes, and the stage was set for the golden age of the Whoop-up Trail.

Chapter VI Infiltration of White Men in the Early Period

Until Kenneth McKenzie was successful in establishing the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri, the Hudson's Bay Company secured practically all the Blackfoot trade through its posts at Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House. The two great Canadian companies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, were amalgamated in 1821 under the name of the former, and all local competition ceased. The Peigan, living nearest to the mountains, were the only tribe of the Confederacy that had furs of any value. Following the penetration of American traders up the Missouri, some of the Peigan trade began to move southward, and the Hudson's Bay Company bestirred itself to retain it.

To this end, an expedition, probably under the leadership of J. J. Bird, Jr., (1) was sent into southern Alberta and Montana,

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1. Letter, J. Rowand to J. Hargrove, Jan. 11, 1834, Hargrove Correspondence, Champlain Society #24, 1938, p. 134.
 NOTE: James J. Bird Jr., better known as Jimmy Jock Bird, was the son of the Hudson's Bay Company factor, James Bird, and an Indian mother. He had a long and eventful life. He was with Pierre C. Pambrun in 1816 at the time of the attack on the Selkirk Settlement. He was at Fort Union in 1832. Maximilian of Wied mentions him, and speaks of him as a treacherous, dangerous, halfbreed who had worked for both the American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company and cheated both. He served as interpreter for both Rev. R. T. Rundle and Fr. P. de Smet, and both speak of his surly behaviour. The artist Paul Kane found Jimmy Jock Bird a hospitable host in charge of Rocky Mountain House in 1848. He was recommended to Isaac I. Stevens as an interpreter for his Indian treaty negotiations in 1853-5. At that time he was spoken of as a respectable and intelligent elderly man and the best interpreter in the country. He spoke seven languages fluently--English, French, Blackfoot, Cree, Gros Ventre, Stony, and

Sarcee. The police owed much to him in their negotiations of Treaty 7 with the Blackfoot, as Jerry Potts could not understand the manner of speech of Governor Laird, and the negotiations would never have been completed had not another interpreter in the person of Jimmy Jock been found on the spot. Although he lived among the Indians the greater part of his life, his grandson, Thomas J. Bird of Browning, Montana, had acquired an English accent from association with him which he kept until he went to school at Fort Shaw. W. H. Cox, ex-member of the N. W. M. P., in his Diary for 1889 records: "James Bird, known as Jimmy Jock in the north country, came to the Peigan and stayed all winter. We were told to give him rations and treat him well as he had been of some use to the government in the making of treaty with the Blackfoot. He was very old and blind. His wife, an old Cree woman, used to drive around from one reserve to another all over the country, even to Montana, with a Red River cart, the old man sitting in the back, the old woman driving. He asked me if I would always put a piece of liver in his pack as it was good for his complaint. He said, 'The old wife used to chew my food for me, but her teeth is no good now. A friend of mine in Prince Albert made me a present of a food chopper and I find it very convenient.' This old man had lived with the Indians since his boyhood and could speak all the Indian tongues." Jimmy Jock lived in Alberta until the summer of 1891 when he returned to the Blackfoot reserve in Montana, hoping to get a grant of money for services he had rendered the American government as interpreter. He died December 11, 1892, at the age of 107 according to the mission records. (Data from Montana Historical Society, Helena)

with the purpose of establishing new posts on the South Saskatchewan and of persuading the Peigan to bring all their furs to the Hudson's Bay Company. A sub-expedition under John Edward Harriott followed the Old North Trail as far south as the Marias River. The Hudson's Bay Company did not have the trouble with the Blackfoot that the American trading companies were having, but they abandoned the project of establishing southern posts as long as the Confederacy was unfriendly to whites. They built only one post at this time, the second Saleesh House on Clark's Fork, near the present Eddy.

In 1831-32 Henry Fisher journeyed to the Peigan to try to persuade them to come to Rocky Mountain House to trade.

When these attempts failed in their object, the Hudson's Bay Company decided in 1832 to establish a new post near the 49th Parallel to replace Rocky Mountain House which they closed in that year. The new fort was located on the Bow River, 210 trail miles from Fort Edmonton, Latitude N. 51° 9', Longitude W. 155° 4' 22". This fort, generally called Old Bow Fort because of its situation on the Bow, is undoubtedly the same as the Peigan Post of the company records. The dates and the personnel coincide, and such a location as "near the 49th Parallel" is very vague when no survey had yet been made. The new post was placed under the command of John E. Harriott, the trader of the Marias expedition ten years earlier, a man regarded by the company as one most likely to win back the Peigan trade from the American Fur Company. Associated with Harriott were Colin Fraser, Hugh Munro, Donald McDonald, and Jimmy Jock Bird. Harriott very early foresaw the failure of the project and abandoned Peigan Post in 1834, returning to Rocky Mountain House, as that was a better centre for the Blood trade. (2)

2. Macleod, J. E. A., Peigan Post and the Blackfoot Trade, Canadian Historical Review, XXIV, 1943, pp. 273-279 and
 Macleod, J. E. A., Old Bow Fort, Canadian Historical Review, XII, 1931, pp. 407-411.

The Hudson's Bay Company made no further attempts to establish posts in the southwest until after the police came in 1874. Alexander Culbertson is credited in American works with having negotiated a

"gentlemen's agreement" between the American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833 by which they were to refrain from direct competition with each other. (3) While there is no Canadian reference

3. River Press, Centennial

to such an agreement, this may be the explanation of the apparent indifference of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Blackfoot trade, which poured southward for the next forty years. Another possible explanation is that the United States Government made overtures to the British Government in 1832 to induce them to help stop the liquor traffic. While the British Government apparently took no direct action, they may have asked the Hudson's Bay Company to stay away from the border country, and this would account for the apparent lack of competition between the American and British companies on the upper Missouri. (4)

4. NOTE: After the police came, the Hudson's Bay Company moved into southern Alberta, and became the bitter rival of the American traders who succeeded the American Fur Company, especially the I. G. Baker Company. The Saskatchewan Herald, Battleford, August 25, 1878, reports a price war between these two companies at the Sounding Lake Treaty with Big Bear. So severe was the competition that all independent traders were forced to pack up as they could make no profit. A comparison of some prices at Battleford and on the Treaty ground is given: 3 point blankets, \$8 and \$5; tea, 75¢ and 50¢; Winchester rifle, \$75 and \$50; cloth, \$2.50 and \$1.25; tobacco, \$1 and 60¢.

Missionaries began to come into Montana and Alberta before the middle of the century. Reverend Robert T. Rundle came to Alberta about 1840, the first Protestant missionary. Father Pierre de Smet travelled widely in both Alberta and Montana. He entered what is

now western Canada on August 18, 1845, and remained until May 28, 1846. Most of this time was spent in Alberta, his travels covering about 1125 miles and taking him as far north as Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House. For a time he was guided by Jimmy Jock Bird, but the latter deserted him during the winter. (5)

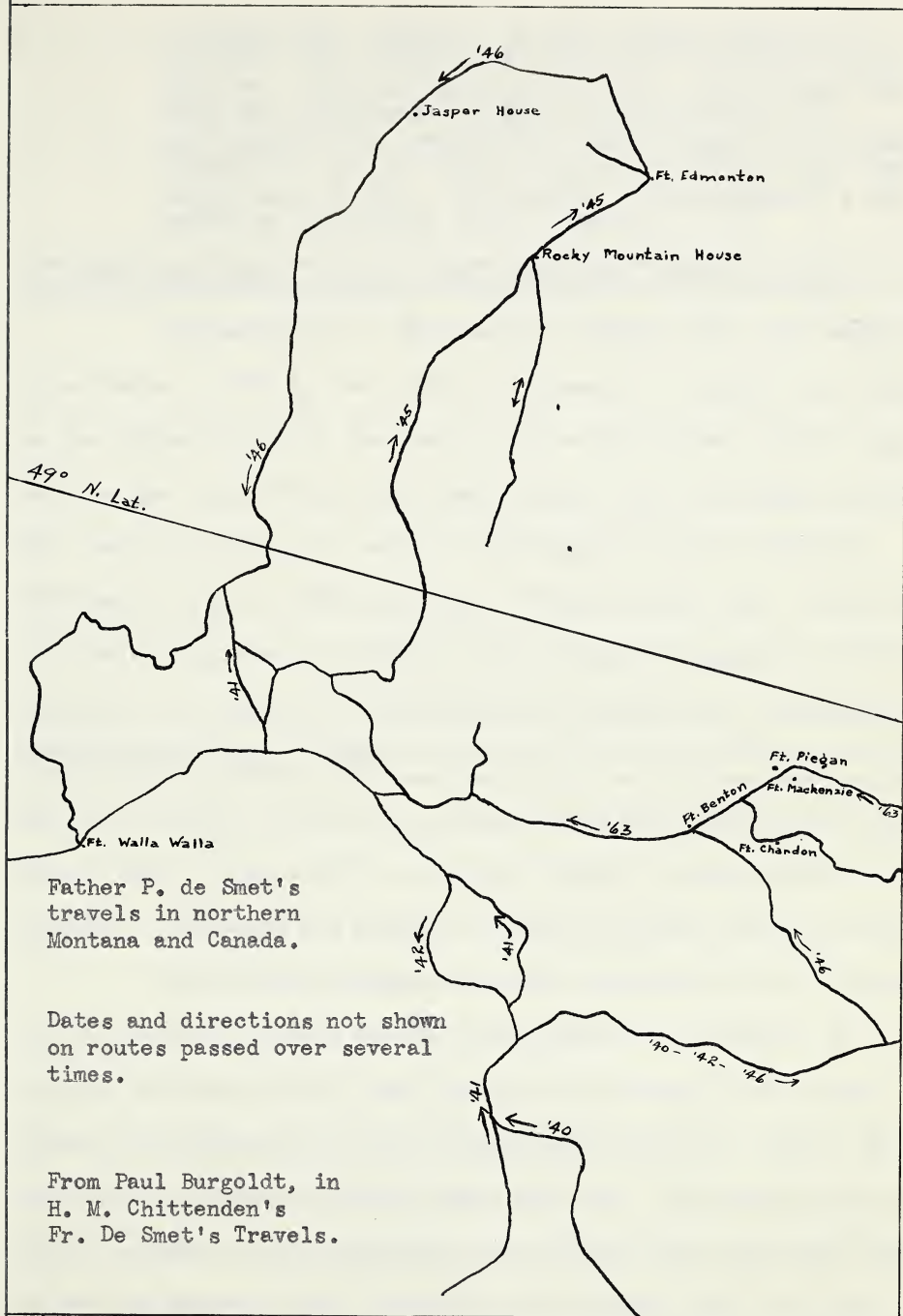
5. McGuinness, Rev. R. J., Missionary Journey of Father Peter de Smet, S. J., Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1941-2.

Probably the first white child born in what is now southern Alberta was Louis Watson, who claimed that he was born in 1847 on the island which became the site of the first Fort Macleod. His father was English and his mother French. They had camped on the island for several weeks at the time of his birth, enroute from Red River to the Tobacco Plains. (6) He told the following story to a

6. NOTE: Tobacco Plains is an area about sixty miles long by twenty miles wide, lying east of the Kootenai River on both sides of the International Boundary. It lies east of Eureka, Montana.

reporter in the 1920's:

"My earliest recollections are of vast herds of buffalo, elk, deer and antelope roaming over the country. There were terrible Indian wars in those early days and our lives were in constant danger. We lived among the Indians and halfbreeds subsisting on buffalo meat chiefly. For butter we used to grind up the buffalo bones, boil them until the grease came to the top. We would skim this grease and place it in a buffalo's bladder and use it for butter, and it was mighty good. We used to eat a great deal of pemmican, also. This is buffalo meat ground very fine and dried. We used to pound it with rocks and axes. We raised a sort of barley which we ground between rocks. This barley flour made a sort of black bread which we washed down with water, the hulls sticking in our throats.



I remember the coming of the first white traders from Montana. They brought with them some old flintlock guns which we secured in exchange for furs. Fred Kanouse was among the first traders I have any recollection of. I also remember the coming of the early Hudson's Bay Company traders....I was in Macleod when Colonel Macleod and the police came in 1874. That marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the country...." (7)

7. Lethbridge Herald, Macleod 75th Anniversary Edition, p. 39.

Lieutenants H. J. Warre and M. Vavasour were sent westward from Canada in 1845 by the British Government, to explore and report on the defensibility of the area in the event that war should ensue between the United States and Great Britain over the Oregon boundary. The overland journey was made to the Columbia from the Red River Settlement by way of White Man Pass. They reported that a small body of cavalry supported by locally raised halfbreed regiments would be suitable and adequate for the defence of the area. (8) Fortunately,

8. Morton, op. cit. p. 808.

war was avoided, but military necessity made both Great Britain and Canada aware of the need for unity of, and for a transportation link between, the eastern and western colonies of British North America.

The British government further exhibited an active interest in the region by sending the Palliser expedition to explore it. Captain Palliser and Dr. James Hector made journeys in the region between Fort Edmonton and the boundary and between the Cypress Hills and the Rocky Mountains between 1857 and 1860. Lieutenant Blackiston, R. A., a member of the expedition, was probably the first white man to see the Waterton Lakes, which were to become a part of a great

international playground. Palliser reported to the British Government that the south portion was an arid desert unfit for agriculture, and recommended that it should be left to the Indians.

From the time of the discovery of White's Bar, there was considerable activity between northern Montana and southern Alberta, with prospectors in increasing numbers moving northward to new streams in search of gold. In 1862 a party made up of Matt Carroll, J. M. Arnoux, J. M. Brown, Dr. Atkinson, Paul Longtime, H. Bostwick, Ed Williamson, D. Carafel, G. Magnum, J. Munro, and one other whose name has been lost set out on the Old North Trail and prospected every stream from the Marias to a point some twenty-five miles south of Fort Edmonton. They reported color on every stream, but made no discovery of amounts profitable for placer mining. (9) As Matt

9. Bradley, op. cit.

Carroll at this time was one of the chief traders of the American Fur Company at Fort Benton, this expedition would seem to indicate that that trading company was actively interested in gold. J. J. Healy, who was to become one of the most prominent of the whisky traders, first came to Fort Benton and made his first trip thence to the Milk River in the fall of 1862. (10) A large prospecting party

10. Adney, E. T., John Jerome Healy, Conversation and Diary, tps., Montana Memorial Library, Helena.

of about forty started from Montana along the foot of the Rockies from Sun River to the Bow in 1864, where they split into two groups, one moving north, the other south. Craig reports that this party

was responsible for the naming of Pincher Creek, as a pair of pliers lost on one creek originated the name. (11) G. W. Houk, well-known

11. Craig, John R., *Ranching with Lords and Commons*, Briggs, Toronto, 1903.

southern Alberta "squaw-man" who helped build Fort Whoop-up in 1869, first entered Alberta in 1864, prospecting along the base of the mountains as far as Fort Edmonton, where he re-outfitted from the Hudson's Bay Company and continued to Peace River, whence he returned along the Old North Trail. He also was said to have lost the pair of pincers which gave Pincher Creek its name. (12) These two parties

12. Kelly, op. cit. p. 87.

could have been, and probably were, the same. Mrs. C. Lynch-Staunton records: "...1868 a party of prospectors including G. W. Hank (sic), Joe Healy or Kipp, Bed (sic) Rock Jim, Mart Holloway, John Nelson, and Old Man Lee lost a pair of pincers....In 1874 found by a party of police..." (13)

13. Lynch-Staunton, Mrs. C., *History of the Early Days of Pincher Creek*, Herald Printing Co., Lethbridge, n. d., p. 34. Mrs. Lynch-Staunton is probably in error regarding the date. G. W. Hank is likely a mis-print for G. W. Houk, and Bed Rock Jim is Red Rock Jim.

One of the best organized of the prospecting expeditions was the McClellan expedition of 1868. With twenty-five men and J. J. Healy as guide, McClellan left the Sun River Crossing on May 17 to explore and prospect the headwaters of the Bow River, thought to be 200 miles north and about forty miles within British America. A report in mid-July that McClellan had found gold

resulted in the party's being joined by another group of fourteen men. The expedition returned to Helena on August 8, and gave details of their exploration. From the Teton River they had gone 15 miles to Birch Creek, thence 20 miles to the Marias, 25 miles to the north fork of the Marias, 35 miles to the Milk River, 25 miles to the divide separating the headwaters of the Missouri and Saskatchewan Rivers and 30 miles to the headwaters of the Belly River. Here they discovered a seam of coal of considerable extent and about twelve feet thick. They explored up one branch of the Belly about 90 miles, coming upon a "falls in three steps" and going beyond for some distance. They continued another 40 miles north to a stream which the Indians called the "River the Old Man Played on" (the Oldman), and thence north to another stream. On their return journey they reached the Bow River on July 10 at a point where it was about the size of the Missouri at Fort Benton. They explored up this a distance of 70 miles, where they met Stoney Indians who informed them that there were no supplies at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Edmonton so they turned back. They reported that they met John Wren's wintering party for Elk River, forty miles north of the Bow.

(14)

14. Montana Post, Helena, May 22, 1868; July 24, 1868; August 14, 1868

Julius F. Morley reports a prospecting trip in 1873 from Sun River north to the north fork of the Oldman. He recorded that he paid a visit to J. J. Healy at Fort Whoop-up. (15)

15. Morley, Julius F., Account of a prospecting trip north, Mss.,
Montana Memorial Library, Helena.

The part which Fort Benton was to play in the Canadian North West Rebellion of 1885 may be briefly noted here. When the Canadian halfbreeds came in search of Louis Riel in 1884, they followed the well-beaten trail to Fort Benton. Here the leaders assembled and discussed their plans before going north in 1885, and here at least two of them, Gabriel Dumont and Michael Dumais, returned in June, the rebellion having been quelled. (16)

16. River Press, Fort Benton, June 10, 1885.

Chapter VII The Whisky Traders: Fort Whoop-up

There are at least two generally recognized reasons for the movement of the liquor and fur traffic northward from Montana to Alberta in the late sixties. The discovery of gold in Montana had resulted in unrest among the Indians. The Blackfoot tribes were driven north of the Marias River, where they stayed, and the traders naturally followed them. Numbers of young men came west following the Civil War, no doubt with the same restlessness that marks every generation following a major conflict. A new York manufacturer had discovered that buffalo hides not only made excellent coats and robes, but also could be tanned into a very tough and durable leather suitable for industrial machinery belts, so the demand for them was insatiable. Therefore, the Montana traders, including these young veterans seeking adventure, pushed more deeply into the buffalo and Indian country. A third reason is found in the fact that the United States Government at this time undertook to enforce the law they had enacted in 1832 forbidding the sale of intoxicants to the Indians. A number of free traders conceived the idea of evading the liquor laws and maintaining their lucrative liquor trade by moving across the International Boundary into Canada, intending to establish bases on Canadian soil from which they could operate smuggling rings into Montana. However, the Canadian Indians offered just as profitable targets for exploitation as the American redmen, so the traders took advantage of them and remained here. Their trade goods, of course, still had to be imported from bases on the Missouri.

Favorite locations for the establishment of trading posts in British America were near the Old North Trail, preferably at the junction of two rivers or streams so that two sides of the fort could be easily protected from attack by the water barrier. Among the forts that were in operation prior to the coming of the police in 1874 were Fort Whoop-up at the junction of the St. Mary and the Oldman, Robber's Roost at the junction of the Belly and the Oldman, Stand-off at the junction of the Kootenai (Waterton) and Belly, Fort Kipp or Weatherwax's post just south of Robber's Roost, Fort Spitzee near the present High River, a post in the Cypress Hills, and a post near Blackfoot Crossing. (1)

1. NOTE: Sources are considerably confused on the origin, dates, and personnel of some of the early whisky forts. This may be attributed chiefly to two causes which appear paradoxical. Some of the men concerned afterwards became respected and honored citizens and hesitated to have their background revealed. Such a man was D. W. Davis, Alberta's first M. P., of whom records before 1874 are scanty or meager. One ex-member of the N. W. M. P. mumbled, "Nothing but a d--n criminal" when questioned, but would not elaborate the statement. On the other hand, after some notorious events or exploits, several men claimed to have had a part in them, when actually they did not, probably hoping thereby to establish a better claim to being "old-timers". Such a man was Henry Keiser, who claimed to be one of the men involved in the Cypress Massacre, although the records prove that he had nothing to do with it.

The earliest, most elaborate, most notorious of the whisky forts was Fort Whoop-up, built in 1869 by J. J. Healy and A. B. Hamilton. They established their first post under the name of Fort Hamilton, but it soon became known by the more picturesque name of Fort Whoop-up. The original post consisted of eleven log huts

arranged in the form of a semi-circle connected by a picket fence running in an arc from the St. Mary's to the Oldman. (2) This fort

2. Higinbotham, John D., When the West was Young, Ryerson, Toronto, 1933. pp. 187-190.

did not long survive, as it was burned by the Indians, possibly the same year that it was built, but certainly not later than 1871. The second fort on the site was on a much more pretentious scale, and was intended to be permanent. A ship's carpenter, William Gladstone, placed in charge of the construction with a crew of about thirty men, spent almost two years in bringing the plans to completion. (3)

3. NOTE: W. S. Gladstone was formerly employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, but had left them to trade on his own account. One of the men who worked for him at the building of Whoop-up was George W. Houk.

The post was said to have cost \$25,000. It was solidly built of squared logs in the form of a hollow square, complete with ramparts, loopholes, bastions at opposite corners, three wickets for trading purposes, and a large gate to admit traders with loads of supplies. One bastion was mounted with a two-inch muzzle-loading cannon, (4)

4. NOTE: This cannon is now located in the north-east corner of Galt Gardens, Lethbridge, and bears a plaque inscribed as follows: "History of the 2nd Smoothbore Muzzle loading gun presented to the City of Lethbridge by J. D. Higinbotham, 1929--Cast by Horace A. Dimmick, St. Louis, Mo., 1846. Sold to the American Fur Co. who were succeeded by the Northwest Fur Co. Brought up the Missouri River and placed in the following forts: Brulé, Cotton, Berthol, and Benton. Thence conveyed in 1871 by J. J. Healy and A. B. Hamilton to Fort Whoop-up at the junction of the St. Mary and Belly Rivers. Purchased from Dave Akers in 1892 by John D. Higinbotham. 'This was the first cannon brought into what is now Southern Alberta.'" There is probably some error here, as Fort Brulé (old Fort McKenzie) was destroyed in 1843, so either the gun was cast earlier than



FORT WHOOP-UP, 1874

Photo courtesy of R. C. M. P.

the date given or was not used at Brulé. Fort Cotton is also known as Fort Lewis--the first site, above the later Fort Lewis which had its name changed to Fort Benton in 1850. The 1871 date is interesting, in that it would bear out the fact that Fort Whoop-up was first built in 1869, the second fort being completed about two years later in 1871. It is most likely that Healy and Hamilton would bring the gun as soon as the fort was completed.

while the other contained an alarm bell, a mountain howitzer, and a well. (5) The buildings faced inward on three sides of the square,

5. Higginbotham, loc. cit.

with all doors and windows opening on the square. In the fourth side was the gate in a stockade.

Colonel S. B. Steele thus described the fort:

"There were two walls about a dozen feet apart, built of heavy squared timbers braced across by heavy log partitions about the same distance from one another, dividing it into rooms which were used as dwellings, blacksmith shop and stores, the doors and windows opening into a square. There were bastions at the corners and the walls were loopholed for musketry. Iron bars were placed across the chimneys to prevent the Indians from getting in that way. There were heavy log roofs across the partitions and a strong gate of oak with a small opening to trade through. The trader stood at the wicket, a tub full of whisky beside him and when an Indian pushed a buffalo robe to him through the hole, he handed out a tin cup full of the poisonous concoction. A quart of the stuff bought a fine pony. When the spring came, wagon loads of the proceeds of the traffic were exported to Fort Benton in Montana, some 200 miles south of the border line." (6)

6. Steele, Colonel Sam B., cited in LH Mac. 75 Ann. p. 10.

The most substantial evidence points to the date 1869 for the building of Whoop-up, although several accounts place the date earlier. J. J. Healy himself in his letters to Adney (7) states

7. Adney, E. T., op. cit.

that he "opened up Whoop-up in 1869" and later says that the fort was sometimes called Hamilton, which would forestall the argument that Healy was referring to the second post. The only road used north at that time was the Old North Trail, which crossed the Indian reservation in Montana. The law forbade the bringing of liquor on the reservation, and the garrison at Fort Shaw was supposed to enforce the law. Healy's point of departure for Canada was on the Sun River, not too far from Fort Shaw. In order to prevent the military overtaking him on the reserve with his load of liquor, he telegraphed to his partner, A. B. Hamilton, and gave him a direction different from the one he was taking, knowing full well that the message would be picked up by the Fort Shaw garrison. He thus caused the cavalry to be sent on a "wild goose chase" seventy-five miles out of the way and gave himself plenty of time to reach Canada. The telegraph line did not reach Fort Shaw until October or November, 1869, so it must have been at least as late as the fall of that year when Healy made this trip. Healy also gave as his reason for leaving the United States the fact that he, a loyal Democrat, had been annoyed by being forced to contribute to the Republican campaign chest the amount of \$500 the previous year. (8)

8. NOTE: 1868 was an election year in the United States.

Healy said that the day of the great fur companies had ended and the independent traders had taken over the field by this date. After 1867 T. C. Power and Brother and I. G. Baker and Company commanded the trade at Fort Benton, and most of the little

traders were financed by one or other of these concerns. Although Healy said that he bought from T. C. Power, it is quite likely that the Healy and Hamilton partnership was financed by I. G. Baker, as Hamilton's mother was a sister of the latter. (9)

9. NOTE: Alfred B. Hamilton was born in New Haven, Conn., Sept. 2, 1839. His mother was Grace Baker Hamilton, a sister of I. G. Baker, a fact which probably accounted for Hamilton's coming to Montana in 1863. The family connection would indicate that Hamilton worked for Baker. Hamilton died on the Blackfoot reservation in Montana in May, 1920, having spent most of his life as a trader among the Indians.

There are several explanations of the name Whoop-up, which was commonly applied to Fort Hamilton. According to one of them, a trader, Joe Wye, having returned to Fort Benton for additional supplies, was questioned by John Power (10) concerning the trade

10. NOTE: John Power was the "Brother" of T. C. Power and Brother.

across the line. He replied, "We're just a-whoopin' it up," and the name Whoop-up was thus coined and came into common usage. (11)

11. Higinbotham, loc. cit.; Kelly, op. cit. p. 90; RP Cent.

Another story relates that since the free traders were frowned upon by the regular companies, they would make their preparations in secret and leave Fort Benton at night, travelling up to fifty miles without a stop--they "whooped it up" for the border, thus the name. (12) Newspaper writers have speculated about the name (13)

12. Brown, J. W., The Whoop-up Trail, Mss., Montana Historical Library, Helena. NOTE: As Brown himself was actively engaged in the trade, he says that they moved out to avoid the regular companies. At that time the companies could have done nothing to stop them, and Brown and his confreres undoubtedly slipped out at night or in secret to avoid the soldiers from Fort Shaw, who were supposed to prevent them from carrying liquor onto the reservation.

13. LH Mac. 75 Ann. p. 13 states that the name originated because the Indians gave good fighting after getting drunk on cheap trade whisky. Calgary Morning Albertan, Anniv., Feb. 28, 1909, p. 1, says that the post was called Whoop-up because Baker had warned his men not to let the Indians whoop-up, that is, round-up, the whites.
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and have come up with some novel suggestions, but probably the first explanation above is the true one, with the second an alternate.

Blood Chief Joe Healy reminisces as follows about the days of Fort Whoop-up:

"I was only a boy then, but I remember well the long wagon trains loaded high with goods and supplies. It was a two-week trip for us, and we passed through many dangers before we reached our destination....Our last stopping place was where the town of Raymond now is, and from there we crossed fifteen miles of country to the spot where the famous Fort Whoop-up was erected. I remember, too, the erection of Fort Whoop-up. W. S. Gladstone was the head carpenter, and with his assistants he erected the first great trading fort of the Canadian West. There were erected a stockade, watch tower, loop holes, ramparts, and wide gates. The interior of the buildings were enclosed by large and heavy doors, while the storerooms, stables and living room of all the quarters were connected. By this plan the white men could remain within for days while the wild drunken Indians fought without. The exchange of furs and merchandise was dealt with only through the loop holes. In this wild atmosphere Fort Whoop-up prospered. The days of scalping were at their height, and the raids and threats of the savage Indians became a horror. The desperate natives would attempt continuous attacks on the traders. The liquor supply from the nigger gangs (who travelled the country) steadily grew, until one could even find the dead lying around uncovered. There was no law, justice or a demand for peace. Fort Whoop-up was the jolly home of the American desperadoes, the meeting place of the Indian tribes....Yet the Indians liked Fort Whoop-up. There was a lot of life there. The trading was interesting too, and for one split buffalo robe they got five dollars and for one head and tail robe they got twelve dollars. Of course the Indians did not get the money. They got supplies and merchandise as they desired. The red men seemed satisfied with this form of barter, and only when under the influence of liquor were they restless. I recall going back to Sun River for additional supplies, and on my return trip when

I reached a high hill about 10 miles from camp, the Fort Whoop-up traders would fire a cannon. The same cannon is now in the Lethbridge Park. The volley from the cannon was a signal to the effect the new supplies were at hand. The first to come were the first served....I remember one day when I arrived at Rocky Springs how I found the bodies of three white men. They had not been dead long, and had been killed by the Assiniboine and stripped of even their clothes....Probably the only reason the Assiniboine had for killing them....The days at Fort Whoop-up were at their best at the time of the Cree and Blackfoot Battle (1870).. ..The Fort Whoop-up days were dangerous and uncertain. Every vice and crime was practiced there. The Indian camps were alight with dance and all forms of savage practice and crime. The White Traders in those days were mere gamblers and the Indians knew it. They violated the simplest principles of justice. The whole place was a den of revelry, well fitted for the name it went under..." (14)

14. Healy, Chief Joe, cited by Noel Stewart, LH Gold Jub. p. 51.

NOTE: Chief Joe Healy of the Blood was a full-blooded Indian. His parents were killed by white men on Sun River, and the little fellow was taken by John Healy to be raised. He always retained the Healy name, probably given to him as a joke on Johnny Healy by the old-timers. He spoke and understood English very well, and has sometimes been blamed for relaying news of the progress of the Rebellion of 1885 to the Indians--he was around Macleod at the time, and would hear all the news that came to the police as he was a police scout. He died at St. Paul's mission on the Blood Reserve in 1936.

The traders brought with them into British America cheap trade goods, guns, pots, axes, ammunition, hatchets, sugar, flour, tea, salt, knives, tobacco, cloth, blankets, and whisky. Legitimate trade was profitable enough, but the whisky trade meant much wider margins of profit, so whisky became the chief commodity at the forts. Most of the Indians would take it diluted as long as it had some "kick" and was hot to the taste, so many weird concoctions passed for whisky in the Indian trade. The Blackfoot liked their whisky strong, and insisted that it must be potent enough to burn, hence

the term firewater. Some of the Indian whisky recipes were: 1 gallon of high wine to 3 gallons of water; 1 quart of alcohol, 1 pound of rank black chewing tobacco, 1 handful of red peppers, 1 bottle of Jamaica ginger, 1 quart black molasses, water ad libitum, mixed well and boiled until all the strength was drawn from the tobacco and peppers; 1 keg of alcohol, Perry's Painkiller, Hostetter's Bitters, red ink, castile soap, Blackstrap chewing tobacco, and water; alcohol, Florida water, Painkiller, tobacco, and blue stone. (15) There were

15. Kelly, op. cit. p. 221; Koch, Peter, Life on the Musselshell in 1869-70, Contributions, Montana Historical Society, II, p. 298.

instances of death recorded from drinking the final draft from the keg of some of these mixtures. (16) The Indians went wild under the

16. Kelly, loc. cit.

influence of alcohol, so the traders led a dangerous existence-- they made their trade, collected, and barricaded the fort until the party was over.

Prices in the whisky trade were fairly stable--2 cups of whisky for an ordinary robe, 2 cups of whisky and a blanket for a silk robe (17), 4 gallons of whisky for a first grade buffalo pony,

17. Burlingame, M. G., Buffalo in Trade and Commerce, North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 4, July, 1929, classifies the robes in order of value as follows:

1. White, valued highly by the Indians for superstitious reasons.
 2. Blue, which had body color of a blue cast and long, fine silky hair--probably the "silk" robe.
 3. Beaver, the color of beaver with fine wavy hair.
 4. Black, or Black and Tan, fairly common.
 5. Buckskin, the most common light tan shade.
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furs to the height of a gun to purchase the same. (18)

18. Williams, William James, Diary, in possession of J. Williams, 907-7th Ave. S., Lethbridge. William J. Williams came to Benton in 1868 and was employed as bookkeeper by T. C. Power. Cited in LH Gold Jub. p. 111.

In general, the men who took part in the trade were young and adventurous. Many of them were the product of the Civil War in the United States, made restless by that struggle and seeking further adventure on the frontier. Bands of Negroes did much of the run running for the white men--they had just obtained their freedom and did not know how to use it. Some of the traders afterwards became "solid citizens", and tried to close the pages of the past by leaving few or no records. (19) Such a man was D. W. Davis, who first came

19. NOTE: For example, A. B. Hamilton, D. W. Davis, I. G. Baker, T. C. Power, the Conrad brothers, and J. J. Healy.

to Alberta in 1869 as chief trader at Fort Whoop-up for Healy and Hamilton. (20) He later became a legitimate trader and acted as

20. NOTE: The fact that Davis was manager of Whoop-up and later manager for I. G. Baker at Macleod would be further evidence of a connection between I. G. Baker and Healy and Hamilton.

manager for the I. G. Baker Company at Macleod from 1874 until 1890 when that company sold its Canadian interests to the Hudson's Bay Company. He served two terms as M. P. for Alberta, 1887 to 1896. Another who rose to political prominence was A. B. Hamilton, who served in the Montana territorial legislature for two terms in 1870 and in 1883. (21) Healy says of the men who worked for him:

21. McDonnell, Mrs. Anne, Montana Historical Library, letter to the writer, August 31, 1949.

"When the police reached Whoop-up they found no cut-throats or outlaws. Instead they found the best brand of prairie men that the world produced doing legitimate business scattered through the various posts. These men had taught ...(the Indians)...to behave...(and)...made the country safe." (22)

22. Adney, op. cit. NOTE: Healy paints too pretty a picture. The Trade became legitimate after the police appeared on the scene. Some of the men involved in the trade were criminals, and soon after the police came they were taken into custody or fled back across the line.

The number of men involved in the whisky trade is hard to determine. The Hudson's Bay Company reported to Ottawa that five hundred American desperadoes were demoralizing the Indians with whisky. (23) This number is probably high, although there were

23. Ibid.

several traders interested in the business and several partnerships and small companies were operating. Higinbotham says that Healy and Hamilton employed thirty-eight men. (24) If other leading traders

24. Higinbotham, loc. cit.

like Kipp, Thomas, Wetzel and Weatherwax employed a similar number, there could have been over two hundred men engaged.

Whether Healy and Hamilton sold Fort Whoop-up to Dave Akers or merely left him in charge is not definitely established, but it was Akers whom the police found when they arrived at Whoop-up in 1874. (25)

25. Williams, loc. cit.

Fort Whoop-up was not only the chief whisky post in Canada, but as an outpost of Fort Benton it also served as a

gathering place for all the traders. They found it safer to travel in groups, so the road from Benton led first to Whoop-up, thence to the other posts.

Among the better known of the other posts were Fort Stand-off, Fort Slide-out, Fort Kipp (Robber's Roost), Fort Conrad, a post in the Cypress Hills, and a post at Blackfoot Crossing. Fort Stand-off was built in 1871 at the confluence of the Waterton and Belly Rivers by Joe Kipp (26) and Charles Thomas. The United States

26. Joe Kipp was the son of James Kipp of the early Missouri trade and his Indian wife, who was said to have been a very fierce Mandan squaw who would fight anything.

was doing a more thorough job of checking on liquor sales to the Indians, and these traders, after leaving Helena with a large load of alcohol, were pursued by U. S. Marshall Charles D. Hard and a small body of cavalry. The Marshall caught the traders on Cut Bank River, but Kipp stood-off Hard by telling him that the creek marked the boundary line and that the Marshall should not cross. He presented his loaded Winchester as evidence, and this proved the soundest argument, as the Marshall retired. The traders then continued northward about 120 miles to the site of their post, which they named Stand-off in memory of the occasion. These same traders later abandoned Fort Stand-off and built Fort Kipp, an unfortified post, at the junction of the Oldman and Belly Rivers. (27)

27. NOTE: John R. Craig in his book, *Ranching with Lords and Commons*, gives a similar story but with different characters. He tells that it was a party under the leadership of John Wren, and claims to have had a list of the personnel of the party from Wren himself, which was as follows: John

Wren, Fred Wachter, Bill McClure, Lew Kaiser, Keller, Red Fitzpatrick, Liver Eating Johnson, Honas, and Bill Hart. Fred Wachter was operating the post in Craig's day.

Henry Keiser, perhaps the same as the Kaiser of Craig's story, in his reminiscences published in the Billings Gazette, Dec., 1935, tells of being in the party with Wren which stood off the Marshall and later built Fort Stand-off. He gives a graphic description of the "stand-off", but does not mention any altercation about having crossed the boundary. He also claimed to have been at the Cypress Hills Massacre, but his name does not appear in the list, so probably his account may be discounted.

James W. Schultz, partner of Kipp for many years, gives the Kipp and Thomas version in his biography of Kipp.

Other traders followed in the steps of Healy, Hamilton, Kipp and Thomas. Among these were Jim Devitt, Reid Buckland, Fred Wachter, and J. D. Weatherwax. Weatherwax built south of Fort Kipp in time to enjoy only one profitable season before the police came. He was one of the less fortunate, however, in that he lost his entire second year's supply by confiscation in 1874. Healy and Hamilton, or their representative Akers, had been forewarned sufficiently to cache the liquor at Whoop-up, and Kipp and Thomas had not yet brought theirs into Canada. (28)

28. Big Timber Pioneer, June 14, 1920, Big Timber, Montana.

In the half dozen years of the whisky trade prior to the coming of the police, southern Alberta was a "wide open", lawless community. The traders knew no law which they could not back with their guns. They carried their lawless trade to the very gates of Fort Edmonton, although most of it was done south of the Bow River. The Hudson's Bay Company sent a formal complaint to Ottawa objecting to the invasion of their trading preserves by the American traders,

and Ottawa's complaint to Washington resulted in an investigation at Benton. J. J. Healy represented the traders at this conference with Major William H. Lewis, who had been sent by Washington authorities to investigate. (29)

29. Adney, op. cit. NOTE: Lewis was stationed at Fort Shaw with the 7th U. S. Infantry. Mrs. A. MacDonnell of the Montana Historical Library says of this investigation: "Since many of the traders north of the line were very prominent and respected citizens of Montana, very little publicity would be given to such an investigation. I don't believe the investigation would have been very thorough or followed through."

If Healy spoke to Lewis of the traders in the same way he wrote to Adney concerning the men in his employ, he no doubt was successful in stopping further investigation.

Life was cheap, and the men who engaged in the trade knew that any trip might be their last. More than fifty men lost their lives around Whoop-up, some at the very gates of the fort. The following brief epistle from one Skookum Joe to a friend in Fort Benton will give some impression of the conditions that prevailed:

"Bill Geary got to putting on airs and I shot him and he is dead. My potatoes are looking fine." (30)

30. LH Mac. 75 Ann. p. 10.

The desperate nature of the life is further demonstrated by the activities of the High River traders, a band generally known as the High River Wolfers or the Spitzee Cavalry. (31) These men

31. NOTE: Spitzee was an Indian word for High Wood, and referred to the tree growth along the Highwood or High River. Senator Riley always claimed that his homestead was on the site of old Fort Spitzee. Among the leaders of the Spitzee Cavalry was Gabriel Dumont, one of Louis Riel's lieutenants.

were organized to protect their own trade and to keep the territory for themselves.

"They determined to call Healy's activities to a halt, by armed force if necessary. Accordingly these traders, armed to the teeth rode down to Whoop-up....They found Healy, who had been apprised of their coming and mission, with the fort gates wide open and Healy himself sitting behind the counter of his rough log store quietly smoking a large, black, well-lighted cigar. The intruders also noticed something else and this was that on the counter was a keg of gunpowder lying on its side with the head knocked off and its contents spilled over the counter. As the argument waxed hotter Healy rose to his feet, declaring that if the gang of traders did not immediately clear out of his store he would plunge his lighted cigar into the keg of gunpowder, 'blowing them all to Hell--himself going with them'....and the free traders, well knowing the desperate character of the man they were dealing with, rushed pell mell out of the store, leaving Healy master of the situation." (32)

32. Shepherd, op. cit.

Healy himself gives a different version of the episode with the Spitzee Cavalry. He said that they were a group banded together for trading purposes under the secretaryship of Fred Kanouse. Their intention was to prevent the sale of guns to the Indians, and then to run off with all their horses and robes, which would have meant the destruction of the Indian tribes. Healy prevented them from carrying out their object, and this was the reason for their hatred of him. (33)

33. Adney, op. cit.

The climax of the whisky trade, the event which marked the beginning of the end of lawlessness and debauchery in the Canadian West, was the Cypress Hills Massacre, July 11, 1873. A

Helena newspaper of the time gives the following account, which may be taken as the American view of the incident:

"...several days ago a party of wolf hunters who had been out in the Whoop-up country during the past winter were encamped on the Teton River near Benton expecting to reach that place shortly with the packs of pelts. During the night, however, some Indians stole their horses and were far out of reach when morning came. The men made their way into Benton where they procured other horses, ammunition, etc. and ten of them left in pursuit of the thieving Indians. Each man was armed with a Henry rifle and two Smith and Wesson revolvers and well mounted....on the evening of the third day they arrived at a small log trading post at Cypress Mountains belonging to one Abel Farwell...some forty miles within the British border. Here they found encamped forty lodges of North Assiniboine Indians who met the whites with bows strung and guns cocked saying that they knew the whites were after a fight with the Indians who had stolen their horses; that the Cree who had stolen them had only left their camp the day before, but that the Cree were friends of the Assiniboine and that if the whites desired a fight that they could have it right there. At this the whites took shelter within the trading post which contained half a dozen white traders. From these they learned that the Indians had passed with the stolen horses only the day before. The traders also told that the Assiniboine were aiding the Cree and had fired several shots into the trading post only recently. The whites took council and it was determined to attack the encampment of the Assiniboine numbering some two hundred all told, and to do it on the Indian plan. Accordingly at the first break of day the next morning the sixteen or seventeen whites attacked and effectually wiped out the forty lodges, very few Indians escaping. Only one white man was killed...Ed Grace....The remains of Grace were buried in the rear room of the trading post and the building after removal of the contents, was burned to the ground. Some of the men assisted Farwell to load his wagons with the furs and robes from his winter's trading and all left for Benton." (34)

34. Helena Weekly Herald, August 11, 1873.

The better known Canadian version is told thus:

"In 1873 a party of men...came from Fort Benton, Montana, to the Cypress Hills about forty miles north of the border,

near where Fort Walsh was afterwards built. These men traded large quantities of whisky to a band of Assiniboiné Indians who had encamped along the creek on a flat piece of prairie....When night came these fiends in human shape decided to 'clean out' the Indians' camp, and accordingly proceeded to a cut bank on the south side of the creek. Here they could stand on the gravel, breast high, rest their Winchesters on the top and fire from cover. The Indians were in the midst of their orgy, every lodge lighted up so that a good view of each could be had. Fire was then opened, with the result that over thirty of the Indians were killed, many wounded, and the rest not knowing where their assailants were, took to the hills for refuge. This occurrence was seen by Abe Farwell, a respectable American trader who had a post close by, and who was married to a Crow woman, known as Big Mary. After the Indians had fled the ruffians had made prisoner a young squaw who had crossed the creek to take refuge with the Farwells, and were in the act of carrying her off when Big Mary appeared upon the scene covering them with a revolver, and, backed up by Abe, dragged her from them and took her to their post." (35)

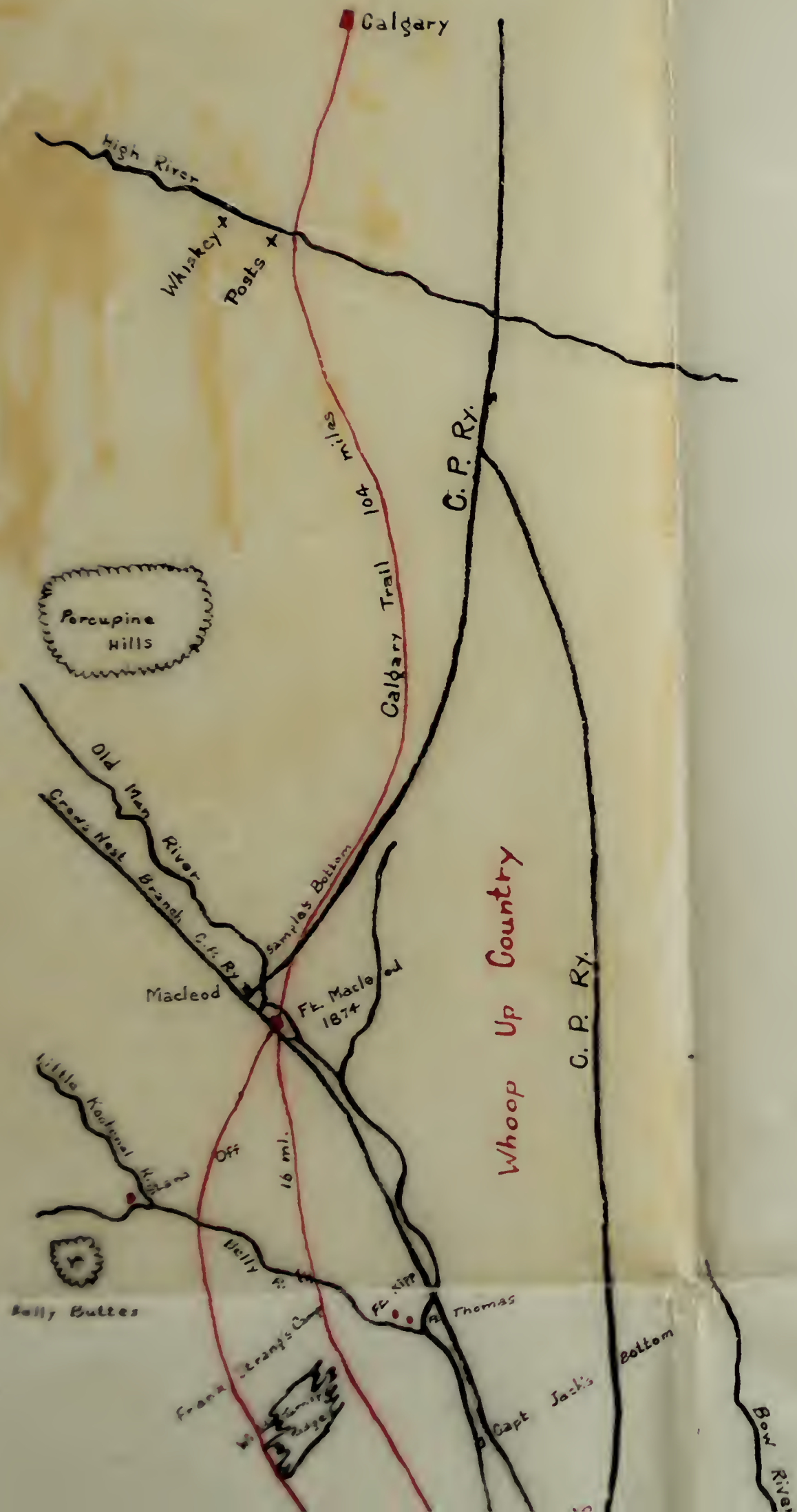
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35. Brown, Ernest, Old Trading Ports in Southern Alberta, n. d.
 NOTE: The Helena Weekly Independent, Nov. 18, 1886, carries an article on the Cypress Hills Massacre by John Duval, one of the men present, and he lists the participants as follows: Ed Grace, Thomas W. Hardwick, John Evans, Trevanion Hale, John Harper, Jeff Devereaux, F. Vogel, G. M. Bell, James Hughes, S. Vincent, George Hammond, Moses Solomon, John Duval, and two halfbreeds not named, fifteen in all. The Cypress Hills affair did not end here, but nothing was done until the police had investigated two years later, and their part in it will be dealt with in due course.
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Chapter VIII The I. G. Baker Company and the Whoop-up Trail

Under the impress of many bull trains and many loads of furs and trade goods the Old North Trail soon became more clearly defined, and the traders themselves soon began to call it the Whoop-up Trail, or simply the Whoop Trail. After the coming of the police, when Macleod became the capital of the West, the trail was extended to Macleod and was often called the Macleod Trail or the Fort Benton-Macleod Trail. Today the old trail is almost indistinguishable except for a few short sections on raw prairie land. At one time it was well-defined, and spread over a width of fifty yards in some places. Attached is a copy of a map made from the recollections and personal experiences of the cartographer. The following is a copy of the memoranda made to accompany the map:

"Notes to accompany Whoop Trail Map.

1. Whoop-up Crossing on Teton 3 miles from Benton.
2. Capt. Nelse's Ranch on Teton 18 miles from Benton.
Nelse was French Canadian Narcisse Velleux.
3. Pend o'Reille--damit, you spell it--Springs. Trail ran between East Knee and the Goosebill.
4. Pend D'Oreille Leavings, 8 miles from the Springs.
5. Yeast Powder Flat
6. Fort Conrad, 200 yards below the Marias Railroad Bridge, 70 miles from Benton.
7. Medicine Rock Coulee.
8. Big Alkali Flat, tho' it may now be Healy Coulee(?)
9. Rocky Springs--40 miles from Fort Conrad, where Buckshot and Polite (poleet) were killed by Indians in '72.
10. Red River, trail here crossed the boundary--really Red Coulee--but the bull-whackers always called it River.
11. Milk River Crossing.
12. Red Wagon Coulee, called after Red Wagon Jim
13. J. O. Coulee.



THE WHOOP-UP TRAIL

Ft. Benton to Ft. Hamilton, at Whoop-Up
210 miles

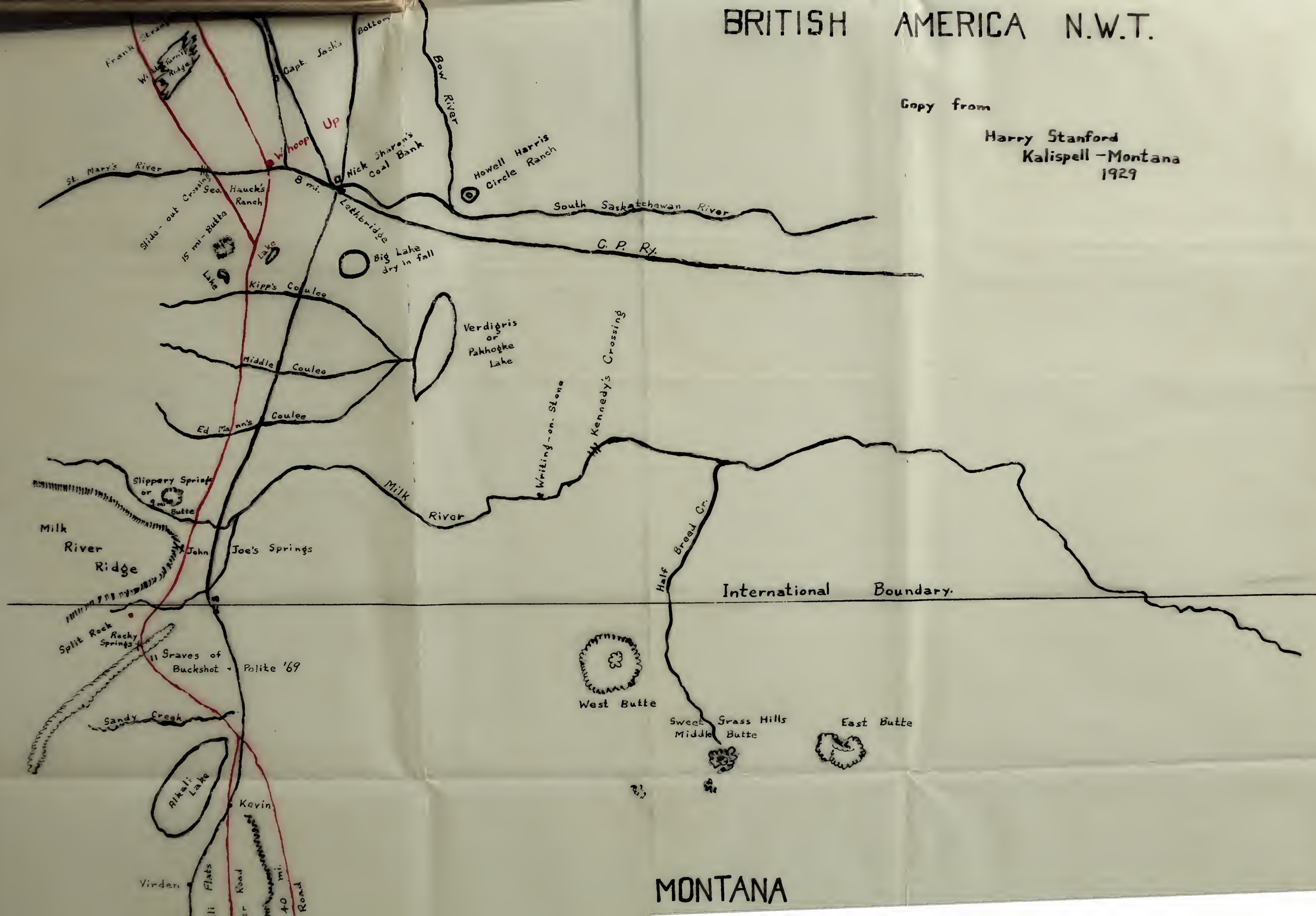
BRITISH AMERICA N.W.T.

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BRITISH AMERICA N.W.T.

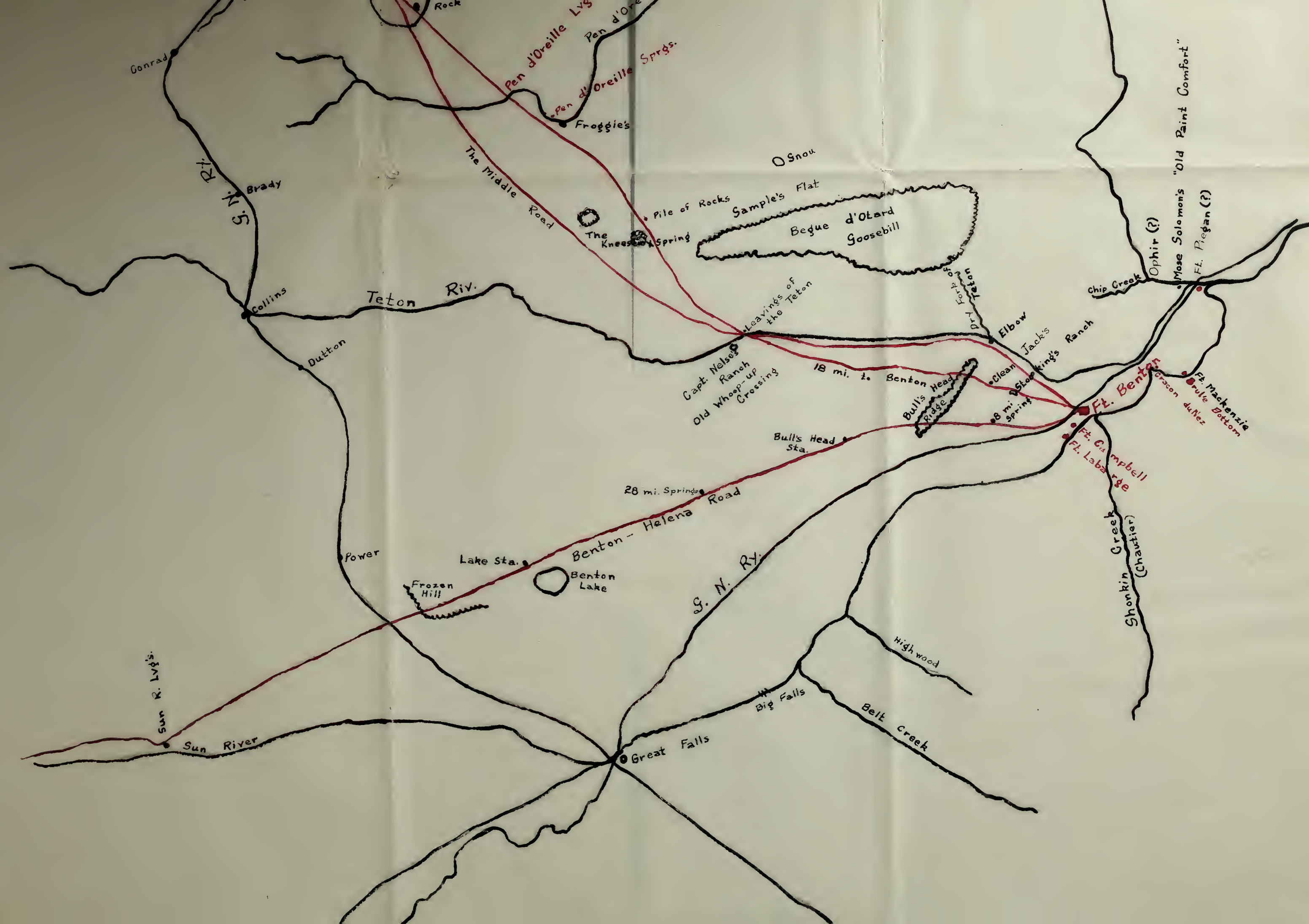
Copy from

Harry Stanford
Kalispell - Montana
1929



MONTANA







The Whoop-up Trail from Fort Benton to the middle of the Whoop-up Country--say Fort Macleod--was always called 240 miles in length. It was in places 50 yards across, where the ground was soft." (1)

1. Map and Mss., The Whoop-up Trail, Montana Historical Library, Helena

Another old time freighter has also left an account of the Whoop-up Trail:

"When I came to Montana in 1866, the only road on the reservation was called the Red River Half Breed Cart trail, which ran from Edmonton to Fort Benton. It ran along at the foot of the mountains on the east side just outside the timber. It passed through Glacier National Park below the railroad station of the Great Northern. It then kept along the foot of the mountains clear to Fort Edmonton.

In 1871 quite a trade sprung (sic) up here between the Fort Benton people and the northern Indians. Those of us who engaged in it at that time laid out another road leading from Fort Benton through to Canada. It came up the Teton about 25 miles, then left the Teton through the Knees and went on to the Marias. It struck the Marias a little below where the Great Northern Railway now crosses the river. Leaving the Marias it came up Medicine Rock Hill, as it was called, and from this hill crossed the bench to about where Shelby now is, and down onto the Alkali flat. It followed up the flat for 15 miles in a northerly direction, when it left the flat and continued along what is called the Rocky Spring ridge. From Rocky Spring ridge it ran on north to what is known as Red River or Dry Gulch....After leaving Red River, the road kept on to what was called John Joe's Spring, and from there on to Milk River. Still going north, it crossed Eighteen Mile coulee, continuing to Middle Coulee, north to Kipp's Coulee. Leaving Kipp's Coulee it went on until it struck St. Mary's between St. Mary's and the forks of the Belly, which it forded at old Fort Whoop-up, a branch running to what is called Standoff at the present time. This is the first wagon road....

When the Mounted Police came in 1874, there was another road laid out from Fort Shaw to Macleod, a mail route. (Signed) James W. Brown better known as Diamond R. Brown" (2)

2. Brown, J. W., The Whoop-up Trail, Mss., Montana Historical Library, Helena. Diamond R. Brown was at Fort Kipp with Charles Conrad in the fall of 1874, and claims to have directed Colonel Macleod to the site of the police fort. Jerry

Potts, Howell Harris and George W. Houk are among others who claim to have selected the site of Fort Macleod.

The bull train was the chief mode of transportation. It was introduced to southern Alberta by the I. G. Baker Company, and for twenty years these impressive looking outfits were seen on the Whoop-up Trail. Each team was made up of six to twelve yoke (3) of

3. NOTE: A yoke was one pair of oxen.

oxen, the usual team consisting of eight yoke. The record team was supposed to have been a seventeen yoke outfit out of Bismarck. Each team pulled a load of three big wide-guaged wagons, the guage generally being five feet. The wagons were spaced with stub tongues, and a "rough lock chain" served as a brake. Heavier trade goods were loaded on the first wagon, while lighter, bulkier articles were loaded on the other two. The wagons were called the lead, swing, and trail wagons, with average loads respectively of five, three, and two tons, although loads up to fifteen tons were recorded. The oxen, in order from the wagons, were called the wheelers, first, second, third, fourth pointers, and first, second and third wings. The average speed of these outfits was only ten to fifteen miles a day, the trip from Fort Benton to Fort Whoop-up taking about fourteen to twenty days. Under pressure, greater distances could be covered, and some drivers would drive their animals mercilessly night and day. The organized freighting companies did not approve of this, however, as the oxen were comparatively expensive. A good yoke would cost up to \$300, so they were worth caring for.

Usually the teams travelled in trains or brigades, the train consisting of eight to ten teams. The train crew would be made up of one driver or bull-whacker per team and one train boss and a night herder per train. The bull-whackers received fifty dollars a month and their board, each of them having to take week about turns as cook for the outfit. Among the best known of the bull-whackers and train bosses were Pink Wilson, Jeff Davis, Dave Jenks, Ed Trainer, Milt Emsley, Ben Roberts, Diamond R. Brown, and Howell Harris. (4)

4. Lethbridge Herald, April 25, 1949, Story of N. T. Macleod.

Bull trains travelled generally from Fort Benton to Fort Whoop-up, and thence to the other trading posts. Later they went to Forts Macleod, Calgary and Walsh. In 1885 an experimental train was sent to Fort Edmonton with supplies for the Field Force. This train was made up of nine teams of six yoke each, pulling two wagons of three and a half tons each--a total load of sixty-three tons. The train reached Edmonton, June 24, 1885, but the experiment was not again repeated because the ground north of the Bow River proved too soft for economical operation. (5)

5. Blue, John, Alberta Past and Present, Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., Chicago, 1924, v. 1, p. 311. The last bull train passed over the trail from Fort Benton to Fort Macleod in 1892.

The first commercial trip was made over the Old North Trail in 1870 before it became known as the Whoop-up Trail, and curiously enough, it was made from north to south. The Hudson's Bay Company sent a train of carts from Edmonton to Fort Benton with furs

for shipment east, experimenting in search of cheaper transportation. The train returned loaded with trade goods. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, used carts rather than bull trains. The cart was a two-wheeled vehicle, with a flat load bed about $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 feet, capable of carrying a load of about one-half ton, pulled by one ox or pony. There were ten of these carts in the experimental train, and the trial must have proved unprofitable, as we hear no more about the company using the Benton trail. (6)

6. Blue, op. cit., p. 303

This trip of Hudson's Bay Company's carts to Benton in 1870 was the first penetration of the southern part of the province by that company since the old agreement with the American Fur Company in 1833. (7)

7. cf. pp. 40-41

Much smarter looking, and much faster than the bull trains, were the mule teams, and later the horse stages. They were used extensively for hauling lighter goods, especially the contraband whisky used in the Indian trade. Where the bull trains took fourteen days or more for the Benton-Whooop-up trip, mule teams could cover the distance in eight to ten days, and the horse stages in four to six days. (8)

8. Lynch-Staunton, E., Fort Benton-Fort Macleod Trail, Lethbridge Herald, May 27, 1948.

Mule teams were hooked in a tandem arrangement just as were the oxen, with six to eight span (9) in a team, the former

9. NOTE: A span is a pair.

THREE MODES OF TRANSPORTATION



AN INDIAN TRAVOIS

Photo courtesy of Great Falls Photo View Co.



BULL TEAMS AT FORT BENTON

Photo courtesy of William Todd



MULE TRAIN AT COAL BANKS, 1877

Photo courtesy of Ernest Brown

number being most common. These teams were controlled by a jerk-line, and some of the jerk-line drivers became so expert that they could round corners or drive through gates with their long teams and three wagons with ease and skill. The three wagons were hooked together with stub poles, and braked with rough lock chains in the same way as the bull train wagons. One of the lead mules was known as a jerk-line mule. It was equipped with a special bridle with a short chain attached to the ends of the bridle bit and passing under the jaw. The jerk-line was attached to this chain, then passed back through rings on the harnesses of the other mules to the driver. With a steady pull the driver indicated a turn in one direction, while a series of short jerks on the line indicated a turn in the opposite direction. Mule teams were expensive--up to \$300 per mule, and more for a well-trained jerk-line leader. Before coming into towns, the mule teams were decked out with bells, and they made a magnificent sight as they came spanking into town with all their bells a-jingle.

Horses were not used a great deal for freighting on the Whoop-up Trail, although after the police came they were used for the passenger and mail stages. The usual outfit for the stage was a four-horse team driven with reins. However, horses were used on the trail, especially in Canada, for hauling hay. For this purpose the drivers reverted to the three wagon hook-up and jerk-line driving. On the hay trail to Milk River Ridge outfits of six to eight teams driven with a jerk-line were common. The racks for hay

were of the following dimensions: lead, 15 by 24 feet; swing, 14 by 16 feet; and trail, 12 by 14 feet. (10)

10. Warren, S. E., Milk River Ridge Hay Trail, Lethbridge Herald, August 16, 1947.

In 1882, the Macleod Gazette of August 24 reported:

"There are one hundred teams of all kinds on the road between here and Benton." The Whoop-up Trail played an important part in Fort Benton history and trade until the railway came in 1883.

Most important of the trading companies working on the Whoop-up Trail was the I. G. Baker Company of Fort Benton and St. Louis. Other freighting companies in the earlier period stayed with the Helena and Judith Basin mining trade, but from early in the sixties the I. G. Baker trains moved north into Canada. Evidence of the extent of their trade is the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company at Edmonton began to feel the competition of the I. G. Baker Company among the Blackfoot at this time. In the early sixties, the I. G. Baker trade to Canada was of a nomadic nature. Freighters like M. W. Emsley, Jeff Davis, and Sandford Sims visited the tribes with trade goods, whisky and tobacco, and returned laden with buffalo robes and wolf pelts, establishing no posts. The trade reached significant proportions after 1868, and as the mining boom in Montana decreased, the Canadian trade grew. The I. G. Baker Company, having been first on the ground, retained a practical monopoly. The trade in one year before the railway came reached the enormous figure of 30,000,000 pounds according to W. G. Conrad, one of the partners--

a figure of no mean proportions when we remember that the freight rate was often greater than the original cost of the goods. (11)

11. RP Cent.

Isaac G. Baker (12) began his career in the Indian and fur

12. NOTE: Isaac Gilbert Baker was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1819. He died in 1904. Many of the Canadian references, including the Sessional Papers, give his name as J. G. Baker, but someone has probably transcribed I for J, and the mistake was perpetuated.

trade at the age of eighteen in Iowa. He came to Fort Benton to take charge of the American Fur Company post in 1864. The death of Pierre Chouteau, head of the American Fur Company, in 1865, and the effects of the Civil War resulted in the closing of all American Fur Company posts in that year. I. G. Baker and his brother, George A. Baker, organized a company of their own early in 1866 and opened their first store in Fort Benton under the name of I. G. Baker and Brother. From this small log building the holdings of the company increased to include large freighting outfits, a line of Missouri steamboats, several trading posts in Montana and Alberta, ranching interests, and branch offices in St. Louis and some eastern cities. At the beginning, the trade was largely with the Indians for robes and furs, but with the discovery of gold in Montana the importance of the cash retail trade was greatly enhanced. In the lush days of 1866 to 1869 the months of September and October were often marked by receipts of \$1800 worth of gold dust per day. Income returns from Benton in 1866 show I. G. Baker as the individual with the largest personal income, \$7360. (13)

13. Helena Herald, July 10, 1867.

The three Conrad brothers, W. G., C. E., and John H., had come west from Virginia to enter the employ of the I. G. Baker and Brother firm, and in 1872 they were admitted as members of the company. The new name was I. G. Baker, Brother and Company, but the commonly accepted name was the I. G. Baker Company, and it is under this name that practically all references are found. (14) Eventually

14. NOTE: There seems to be no important collection of I. G. Baker Co. papers. The best lead I could find indicated that such papers, if extant, would probably be found in the Chouteau papers in the Missouri Historical Society collection, but I quote the following from a letter received from the Secretary of the Society dated February 1, 1949: "Our Chouteau papers are very inadequately indexed and I do not have the time to make a search for letters and documents of this firm though I am sure there is no sizeable collection. I have found a few references....I do not find any reference to trade with Canada...."

the Conrad brothers purchased the Baker interests, but the firm continued under the old name. (15)

15. Overholser, J. F., Fort Benton, letter to the writer, Aug. 6, 1948.

By 1870 the whisky trade with Canadian Indians warranted the establishment of permanent posts in the Blackfoot country, and the I. G. Baker Company was not slow in seizing the opportunity. After Healy and Hamilton, who were probably financed by Baker, had shown the way by building Fort Whoop-up, other forts were established. Howell Harris, who later became a prominent Alberta rancher, built Fort Conrad for I. G. Baker in September, 1871, about three miles below Fort Kipp, which may also have been an I. G. Baker post. In 1872 Harris helped build Fort Standoff and left one of the Conrads

in charge, himself returning to Fort Benton. He left Standoff on December 17, and before reaching Benton was caught in a driving blizzard. So severe was the storm that a party of seventy-five United States soldiers caught between Fort Benton and Fort Shaw lost forty of their number through exposure. (16) Slide-out and Whisky

16. Harris, Howell, Recollections, cited in Macrae, op. cit. p. 983.

Gap were other outposts of the company built in 1872.

Following the coming of the North West Mounted Police in 1874, the I. G. Baker Company's business took a legitimate turn. When Commissioner French and Colonel Macleod made their side excursion from the Sweetgrass Hills to Fort Benton, I. G. Baker could not do enough for his new-found friends. He had not been trading for forty years without learning to sense a dollar as far as the next man, and here lay prospects for a large, lucrative contract, just when the company needed it to replace the declining trade of the mining camps. His slogan was that he traded all things to any man, and he supplied the immediate needs of the police: moccasins, mitts, boots, socks, oats, barley, horses, wagons, grease, thread, and a good guide in the person of Jerry Potts. To insure getting the supply contract, Baker sent W. G. Conrad back to the Sweetgrass Hills camp with Colonel Macleod and Jerry Potts. Conrad was able to say that the first bull train of supplies was already on the road. (17)

17. Denny, C. E., Riders of the Plains, Herald Company, Calgary, 1905. p. 46.

The Baker company gave good service and got its reward.

The contract for supplies and for the freighting of them was awarded to I. G. Baker year after year, in 1882 reaching the figure of a half million dollars. (18) As the I. G. Baker Company was the only firm

18. Overholser, op. cit.

doing a general banking business at Fort Benton or Helena, they also acted as the financial agents for the Canadian Government and the paymasters for the police. They succeeded in getting the mail contract and later the contract to supply the Indians with beef and other treaty supplies. On these various contracts the Baker company profited enormously, and the traffic over the Old North Trail boomed to new peaks in the years before the railway came.

I. G. Baker himself had little contact with Canada except for the negotiation of the original contract. He moved to the new head offices of the company in St. Louis in 1874 to take care of the purchasing end of the business, and relations with Canada were maintained through W. G. Conrad. (19) D. W. Davis was sent to Macleod

19. Letter to the writer from Mrs. Anne MacDonnell, Montana Historical Library, August 31, 1949.

as manager of the first company store, and later was made manager of the Canadian business. He went in 1875 to supervise the building of Fort Calgary for the police, and also to construct a small store for the company.

The first I. G. Baker Company staff at Macleod included in addition to Mr. Davis, Hiram Bates as cook, John Black in charge of groceries, George Overfield in charge of drygoods, Ellis Miller

and Cowan, clerks, and George O'Callaghan and Parker as accountants. Cowan became chief accountant before the company closed out its Canadian holdings. (20) When the I. G. Baker Company sold its

20. Calgary Herald, July 28, 1934; Davis, G. Rider, Macleod Oldtimer Looks Back, LH Mac. 75 Ann. pp. 8-9.

Canadian interests to the Hudson's Bay Company many of the employees passed into the service of the latter company, but John Black set up a grocery business in opposition directly across the street. In contrast to the legend of the Hudson's Bay Company store, "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay--Pro Pelle Cutem," Black opposed his sign, "John Black, Adventurer and Trader, Groceries and Guff--Pro Belly Catchem." (21)

21. Davis, op. cit.

The I. G. Baker Company did not neglect its robe trade, although this was now necessarily on a legitimate basis, and was fast dwindling with the disappearance of the buffalo. There were rumors that the American Government was paying a bounty of three dollars per buffalo robe in order to have the great herds destroyed, as they thought that they would never be able to settle the Indians peaceably on reserves until the buffalo were no more. (22) The robe

22. Brown, Ernest, op. cit.

trade from Walsh and Macleod fell from nearly 50,000 robes in 1877 to 30,000 in 1878 to 14,000 in 1879 to only a few hundred in 1880.

The North American buffalo, or bison, would probably be extinct today had not the Honorable Frank Oliver of Edmonton per-

suaded the Dominion Government to purchase the last known herd in the Flathead country of Montana for the Dominion National Parks. The herd, consisting of about 600 head at \$250 each, was shipped to the Elk Island National Park, whence, after considerable increase and dissemination to other parks, it was shipped during the recent war to the Athabasca and Slave River area.

As the robe trade diminished, the bull trains returned to Fort Benton loaded with coal from Fort Whoop-up. The first train load of coal, thirty-six tons, arrived in Benton, November 1, 1880.

(23)

23. RP Cent.

The police and the settlers who followed them meant not only a lucrative government contract for I. G. Baker, but also a profitable retail trade. T. C. Power as well as I. G. Baker established retail store outlets in Macleod in 1874, and at Calgary and Walsh in 1875. These two great trading companies were serious rivals, but their leaders were too shrewd to injure themselves by trying "cut-throat" trading methods against their opponents. Both stores had to carry enormous stocks of goods, as replacements could be made only once a year from Benton when the boats could navigate the Missouri. To avoid expensive duplication, the Conrad brothers and the Power brothers made an agreement in 1881 by which the I. G. Baker Company closed its store at Fort Walsh in return for T. C. Power and Brother closing their store in Macleod, a profitable arrangement for both companies. (24)

24. Cox, W. H., Diary of a Mountie, cited in LH Gold Jub. pp. 67-76

The Baker company provided many luxury goods as well as necessities to the police in Canada. The Christmas menu in Macleod in 1874 included turkey freighted in from Benton for the occasion. The menu for Christmas dinner in Calgary, 1875--the first Christmas celebrated there by white men--included soup of canned oysters and condensed milk, prairie chicken, trout, deer and buffalo meat, plum pudding, mince pie, nuts, candy, and coffee. (25)

25. King, G. C., Interview, cited in L. H. Bussard, Early History of Calgary, University of Alberta thesis, 1935, p. 27. King was an ex-policeman who became manager of the I. G. Baker store in Calgary and later postmaster.

The Baker company spared no effort to improve their service. By 1883 they had a regular stage running from Fort Benton to Fort Macleod--an open wagon drawn by four mules, running bi-monthly. The trip took eight days, one outfit setting out from each end of the run, and meeting at the end of four days at Rocky Springs, midway point on the Whoop-up Trail. Here loads were exchanged along with the passengers and the two outfits returned the way they had come. (26)

26. Tims, Archdeacon J. W., Missionary Spent First Night Here in Tent Hotel, Calgary Herald Diamond Jubilee, p. 18, sect. 2.

The I. G. Baker Company startled its competitors in 1883 by adding to the staff a milliner and a dressmaker, a real innovation for the West of that day. (27) This addition proved a decided

27. Macleod Gazette, July 4, 1883.

success, as the first bride in Lethbridge could testify:

"I had a lovely white dress and everything to go with it.

No difficulty in getting fine clothes in those days from the I. G. Baker Company at Macleod." (28)

28. Hodder, Mrs. J. E., nee Alma Isabella Forbes, the first bride of Lethbridge, March 9, 1886. Cited in LH Gold Jub. p. 98.

Following the signing of Treaty 7 at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877, the I. G. Baker Company was awarded the contract of supplying the Indians with beef. They made enormous profits on this contract, driving the cattle in on the hoof, and butchering them as needed to fulfil the contract. While the MacDougalls at Morley probably had the first cattle in Alberta, the first beef cattle were those brought in by the I. G. Baker Company on the Indian contract.

As the financial agents of the Canadian Government, the I. G. Baker Company also supplied all the currency for the treaty payments, in both American and Canadian paper money of \$1 to \$20 denominations. Considerable difficulty was experienced in making the first payments, as the Indians were superstitious of telling either their own names or the numbers in their families. The currency was unfamiliar to them, for they had always bartered goods prior to this time. The police were kept busy watching that the free traders who swarmed the treaty ground did not take advantage of the Indians, who could see little or no difference between a one-dollar bill and a twenty-dollar bill. The natives, however, knew that they could trust the police, and many of them turned this new kind of wealth over to their red-coated friends until they could turn it into trade goods. (29) One independent trader reported that he sold his entire

29. Denny, op. cit. p. 100

stock of three cart loads in one day for cash. (30)

30. McKay, W. Henry, Story of Edward McKay, Canadian Cattlemen, September, 1947.

The coming of the railway marked the end of the great freighting businesses from Fort Benton, and trade and mail began to move east and west instead of north and south. The sinking of the Red Cloud in the Missouri in 1882 terminated the Baker steamship line, and the company gradually declined. In December, 1890, the Canadian interests of the I. G. Baker Company were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. In April of the following year the Conrad brothers sold all the Benton stock of the company with the exception of farm machinery to Strain's of Great Falls, and the I. G. Baker Company ceased business shortly thereafter. (31) With the end of the great

31. Overholser, J. F., letter to the writer, August 6, 1948.

company came the close of a picturesque chapter of Montana-Alberta history.

Some idea of the extent of the trade to Canada from Fort Benton may be gained from the following table of freight shipments, taken from the pages of the Benton Record, which published from 1875 to 1881. Keeping in mind that the freight rate averaged about one cent per pound per hundred miles over travelled routes, and that these figures are not necessarily complete, one may easily recognize the value of the trade. All figures are in pounds:

Date	Destination Macleod		Destination Walsh		Other Destination
	Baker	Power	Baker	Power	Baker
26-6-75		3,919			
28-8-75	117,643		143,900		
18-9-75		96,000			
25-9-75		60,000			96,000a
2-10-75				2,500	
16-10-75	94,800		30,000		
23-10-75				30,000	
30-10-75			10,000	20,335	
11-12-75		30,000			
18-12-75		10,000			
16-6-76	184,645		82,540		
14-7-76	80,000	17,389		10,044	
28-7-76	250,000b	12,539			
4-8-76		43,259			
11-8-76			36,000		
8-9-76	338,000		67,000		
16-3-77	10,000				
11-5-77	65,000	23,599	45,000	16,436	
8-6-77	151,523	20,460	2,253		
29-6-77		18,628c		5,232	
6-7-77	97,228		29,378		
20-7-77	111,101		29,850	23,965	
27-7-77	101,000		76,000		
3-8-77	75,000		120,000	19,879	26,084d
17-8-77	96,960	55,910			
24-8-77	212,500				

a. to Edmonton

b. to Macleod and Calgary

c. includes 7,971 pounds to Hamilton (Whoop-up)

d. to Battleford

Travelling and living accomodation along the way were not so luxurious as they are today. The following is an account of a trip in 1883, several years after the police had established Fort Macleod, which was still located on the island in the river. Arch-deacon J. W. Tims came to Alberta in that year, leaving England on June 9, and arriving at Blackfoot Crossing on July 20. He landed in New York and thence travelled by Northern Pacific Railway to

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Buffalo, Chicago and St. Paul. From St. Paul he gives the following account:

"The next part of the journey was in a construction train which was crowded with people making their way West. This part of the journey took from Monday morning to Wednesday evening, when we were dumped off at Helena, then only a village of log buildings and no railway station. It was at the end of the track at that time. At Helena I found a Concord Coach was to leave for Fort Benton the following morning, and I secured a seat but had to produce my portmanteau to be weighed for which I had to pay so much per pound....We reached Benton without mishap. This part of the journey took thirty-six hours without stopping except for meals and to change horses at certain stopping places. What we did encounter were mosquitoes in their millions... especially troublesome at night....At Fort Benton I had to stay six days until the I. G. Baker Express (an open wagon drawn by four mules) was ready to make its bi-monthly trip to Macleod....From Fort Benton...it was an eight days journey in an open wagon to Macleod. On the fourth day, another Sunday, we reached Rocky Springs, about half way, and here we were met by another wagon and team that had come out from Macleod to meet the Express. I was the only passenger on this trip and was transferred to the Macleod outfit with all the express matter. Another four days' journey brought us to Macleod, then a small place situated on an island in the Belly River....That night we stayed at Macleod and put up at a restaurant kept by a negress who went by the name of Aunty. It was a long building, one storey in height, with a lean-to at the far end which served as kitchen and Aunty's bedroom. The sleepers provided their own blankets and slept on the floor. About six a. m. Aunty appeared with a broom, poked each sleeper with it, and told them to get up and roll up their bedding. Then from the far end of the room she commenced to sweep the floor and expected everyone to be up with blankets rolled by the time she reached them....I recall that the country through which I travelled from Fort Benton to Blackfoot Crossing was primitive in the extreme. Only between Benton and Macleod were there stopping places with a man in charge who kept relays of horses and prepared meals for travellers. These were about forty miles apart. Between Macleod and the Crossing there were no signs of human life or habitation. There were no bridges crossing the rivers, no fences of any kind and no roads, the only trails being those made by the ox-teams...." (32)

One of the most colorful proprietors of the early hotels was Harry Taylor of Macleod. According to his own reckoning, he came to the West when Chief Mountain was a hole in the ground. Better known by his Indian cognomen, Old Kamoose (Squaw Thief), he had gained notoriety by becoming the first man arrested by the police after they came to Alberta. He never quite forgave the police for confiscating a whole load of whisky found in his possession, and never spoke well of them. He drew up a set of Hotel Regulations for his establishment in Macleod which are well worth preserving, carrying the full flavor of life in the early West:

"Hotel Regulations, adopted unanimously by the proprietor, September 1, 1882, A. D.

1. Guests will be provided with breakfast and dinner, but must rustle their own lunch.
2. Spiked boots and spurs must be removed at night before retiring. Dogs are not allowed in the bunks, but may sleep underneath.
3. Candles, hot water and other luxuries charged extra, also towels and soap. Towels changed weekly.
4. Insect powder for sale at the bar.
5. Crap, Chuck-Luck, Stud Horse Poker and Black Jack games are run by the management.
6. Indians and Niggers charged double rates. Special rates to Gospel Grinders and the Gambling Perfesh.
7. Every known fluid (water excepted) for sale at the bar.
8. A deposit must be made before towels, soap or candles can be carried to rooms. When boarders are leaving, a rebate will be made on all candles or parts of candles not burned or eaten.
9. Two or more persons must sleep in one bed when requested to do so by the management.
10. Not more than one dog allowed to be kept in each single room.
11. Baths furnished free down at the river, but bathers must furnish their own soap and towels.
12. No kicking regarding the quality or quantity of meals will be allowed; those who do not like the provender will get out, or will be put out. Assaults on the cook are strictly prohibited.

13. Quarrelsome or boisterous persons, also those who shoot off without provocation guns or other explosive weapons on the premises, and all boarders who get killed will not be allowed to remain in the house. When guests find themselves or their baggage thrown over the fence they may consider that they have received notice to quit.
14. Jewelry and other valuables will not be locked in the safe. This hotel has no such ornament as a safe. The proprietor will not be accountable for anything.
15. In case of FIRE the guests are requested to escape without any unnecessary delay.
16. The BAR in the Annex will be open day and night. All Day drinks, 50¢ each; Night drinks, \$1.00 each. No mixed drinks will be served except in case of a death in the family. Only regularly registered guests will be allowed the special privilege of sleeping on the Bar Room floor.
17. Guests without baggage must sleep in the vacant lot and board elsewhere until their baggage arrives.
18. Guests are forbidden to strike matches or spit on the ceiling, or to sleep in bed with their boots on.
19. No cheques cashed for anybody. Payment must be made in Cash, Gold Dust, or Blue Chips.
20. Saddle horses can be hired at any hour of the day or night or next day or night if necessary.
21. Meals served in rooms will not be guaranteed in any way. Our waiters are hungry and not above temptation.
22. To attract attention of waiters or bell boys, shoot a hole through the door panel. Two shots for ice water, three for a deck of cards, and so on.
23. All guests are requested to rise at 6 a. m. This is imperative as the sheets are needed for tablecloths.
24. No tips must be given to any waiters or servants. Leave them with the proprietor, and he will distribute them if it is considered necessary.
25. Everything Cash in advance. Following tariff subject to change: Board \$25.00 per month; Board and Lodging, \$50.00 per month with wooden bench to sleep on; Board and Lodging, \$60.00 per month with bed to sleep on." (33)

Chapter IX The North West Mounted Police

The north West Mounted Police played a very important part in the relations between Alberta and Montana. Before the coming of the police, the influx of free traders, dealing chiefly in whisky, provoked an intolerable situation. Until 1870 the Blackfoot Confederacy had permitted no permanent posts in their territory, but traded with men from both the Missouri and the Saskatchewan. However, firewater was gradually breaking down the barrier, and posts were being established in the early seventies which became centres for great drunken orgies. The culmination of the whisky trade came in the Cypress Hills Massacre (1), and the police were organized partly,

1. cf. pp. 62-64.

at least, as a direct answer to this case of devilry. The Americans had the impression that the Hudson's Bay Company had made representations to Ottawa concerning their inroads into Canadian territory and that this fact resulted in formation of the force. (2) There were

2. RP. Cent.

other reasons: the new boundary needed supervision, the country could not be settled unless the government could maintain law and order, there was the ever present danger of Fenian inroads, and a new railway across the continent was being considered. All these reasons contributed to the decision of the Canadian Government to establish a small mobile force in 1873. The immediate objectives of the force were to stop the liquor traffic, to gain the respect and confidence of the Indians so as to prevent the fiasco of Indian affairs across

the line, to break down the old Indian tribal rites and practices by tact rather than force, to collect customs, and to perform general police duty. (3) The scarlet tunic recommended by Colonel P. Robert-

3. Canada, Department of Justice, Brief Outline of the Activities of the Force, 1873-1940, King's Printer, 1945. NOTE: The following is quoted from a letter received from S. T. Wood, Commissioner of the R. C. M. P., dated April 29, 1949: "I regret to have to inform you that many of the old fyles of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were destroyed by fire in the West Block at Ottawa. The fire took place on February 11, 1897, and unfortunately the old reports from Fort Macleod, Fort Walsh, etc. are amongst those destroyed." He enclosed the above-mentioned pamphlet.

son-Ross and adopted as part of the uniform of the new force took its origin from the Oregon disputes of 1845-6. The Indians had been impressed in a friendly way by the British troops stationed at Red River, and ever associated the red tunic with the forces of Her Majesty, the Great White Mother.

The force left Dufferin on July 8, 1874, and after a summer's march across unmapped plains they reached the present site of Medicine Hat on September 6. Here they found no grass, as the buffalo herds had grazed the whole area clean. Cold rains added to the hardships of both men and horses, and on September 12 the decision was reached to move south to the Sweetgrass Hills in search of fodder, while Commissioner French and Colonel Macleod (4) went to Fort Benton

4. NOTE: Colonel James Farquharson Macleod, C. M. G., was born on the Island of Skye, 1836, and came to Canada with his parents when he was only four years old. He graduated from the University of Toronto in 1854 and was called to the bar in 1860. He served under Sir Garnet Wolseley in the Red River expedition of 1870. In 1873 he joined the N. W. M. P., and was appointed Assistant Commissioner, Sept. 25, 1874. He resigned from the force, Dec. 31, 1875, to become one of

three stipendiary magistrates in the North West Territories. On July 22, 1876, he was appointed Commissioner of the N. W. M. P. by Order-in-Council, and he held both positions until October 1, 1880, when he again resigned from the police force. He was appointed Judge of the Judicial District of southern Alberta, February 18, 1887, and held this position until his death, September 5, 1894.

for supplies. The rain had turned into a light snow fall, and as the troops moved south to the Sweetgrass Hills, on looking back they could see "the earth blackened to the very roots of the sun by one vast herd of bison moving south." (5) The force encamped at the foot

5. LH Mac. 75 Ann. p. 44.

of the West Butte on September 18, and here rested and awaited the return of Colonel Macleod. (6)

6. Denny, op. cit., p. 44.

French and Macleod were very successful in Fort Benton.

I. G. Baker was prepared to take care of every need, and even recommended a guide and interpreter in the person of Jerry Potts. (7)

7. NOTE: Jerry Potts was a Peigan halfbreed. He stayed with the police from 1874 to the time of his death in 1899. The only time that he ever failed them was at the Blackfoot Treaty negotiations in 1877, when he could not understand Laird's mode of speech. Tom Clarke, ex-member of the N. W. M. P. now living in Macleod, in an interview, April 17, 1949, told me of the time that he accidentally shot Jerry Potts in the ear with a 2B shot. The pellet lodged in the lobe of the ear and Potts carried it for many years, calling it his lucky charm. Clarke said that some of the "boys" for a lark seized Potts one time, slit his ear lobe and removed the shot, and "sure enough, he died within the year!"

Potts was added to the force as a scout at the relatively high wage of ninety dollars per month compared to the fifty cents per diem of the enlisted men. A message sent from Colonel Macleod to the troops



LIEUT. COL. JAMES F. MACLEOD C.M.G.
COMMISSIONER N.W.M.P. 1875-1887



ALBERTA JERRY POTTS POLICE GUIDE



IRA "CROWFOOT," CHIEF OF THE BLACKFEET.

CROWFOOT



5-215
SITTING BULL

informed them that they were only sixty miles from Whoop-up, and ordered them to move fifteen miles further west where they would find the well-worn Whoop-up Trail.

On October 1, the police searched a train of whisky traders on their way back to Fort Benton but found no contraband liquor. On October 2, they camped on the Milk River and two days later Macleod rejoined them with Jerry Potts and W. G. Conrad. (8) Jerry Potts

8. Denny, op. cit. pp. 45-46.

led the police unerringly along the Old North Trail to Fort Whoop-up.

The force expected to find stiff opposition at Whoop-up, and were prepared for an attack if not for a siege. They were surprised and pleased to meet no opposition. C. E. Denny records that D. W. Davis was in charge with three or four men, and that the force was welcomed to comfortable quarters heated with coal stoves. (9)

9. Denny, op. cit. p. 48.

Longstreth writes as follows:

"Macleod, hoping that a parley might obviate bloodshed, left his troops some distance up the slope and rode, in disregard of earthly caution, toward the closed gate. He knocked; a rumbling echo was the one response. He knocked again, and was startled at being confronted by a cripple, an American deserter who had been left with an aged halfbreed woman to hold the fort until it should be safe for the owners to return." (10)

10. NOTE: Commissioner S. T. Wood in the letter cited above recommends both Longstreth's books (The Silent Force, Century, New York; and In Scarlet and Plain Clothes, MacMillan, New York) for authentic information re the early days of the police.

Macleod, in command of the force and in the name of the Canadian Government, offered those in charge \$10,000 for the fort

but the offer was refused because the post was said to have cost \$25,000. Healy and Hamilton would have been wise to have accepted the offer, for the coming of the police marked the end of the whisky trade, and the post fell into disuse except as a ranch headquarters for Dave Akers.

Since Whoop-up could not be purchased, Potts led the force further along the Old North Trail. Crossing the St. Mary at Whoop-up and the Belly at Slide-out, he brought them to the island in the Oldman, The-Place-Where-the-Trail-Crosses-the-Oldman-River, and here was established the first police post in the British northwest.

The fort was substantially built of twelve-foot logs stood upright in trenches dug in the ground, and the barracks were completed before the end of the year. Roofs were of poles covered with earth and the floors were packed mud. Bull trains from Benton brought up window sash and lumber for doors. (11) By Christmas the force was

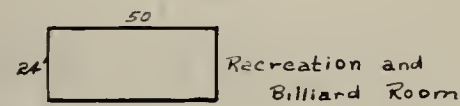
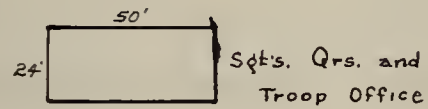
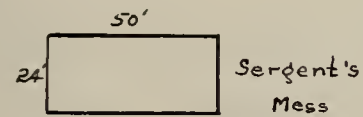
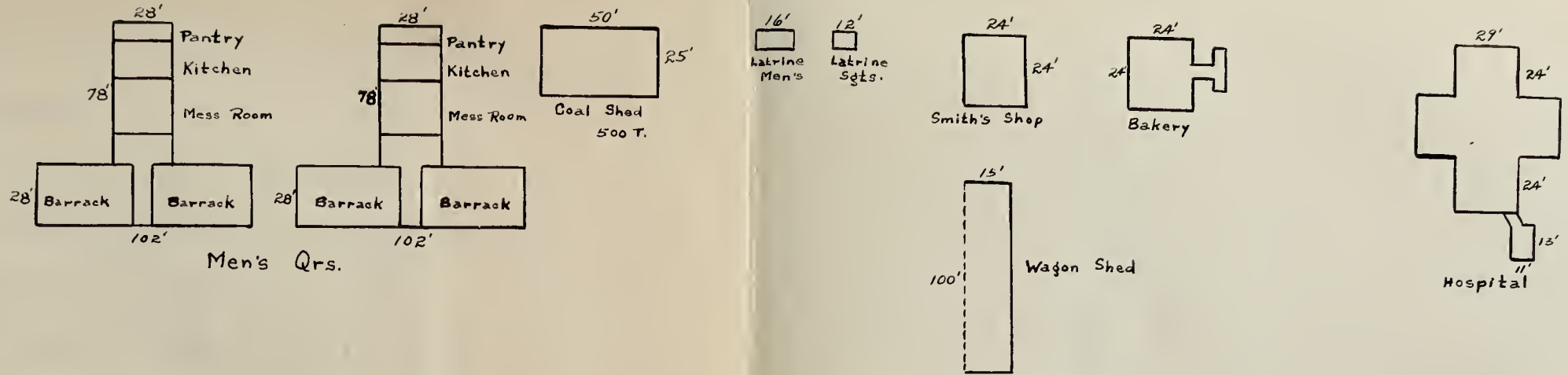
11. Denny, op. cit., p. 51.

comfortable and one of the men described the first Christmas spent by the police in Alberta:

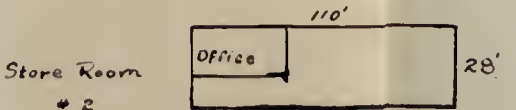
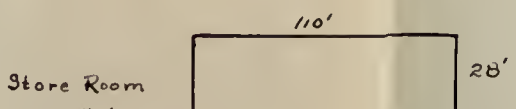
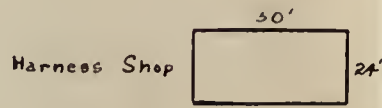
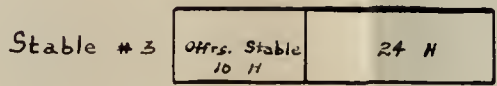
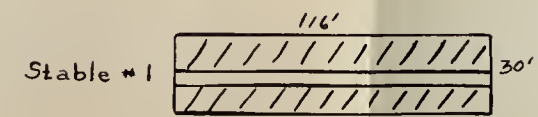
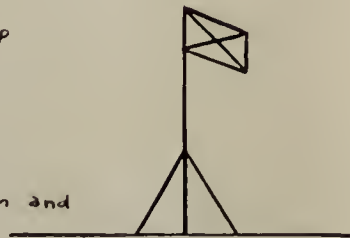
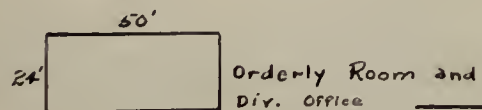
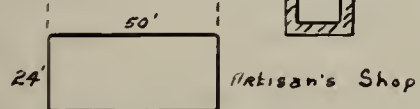
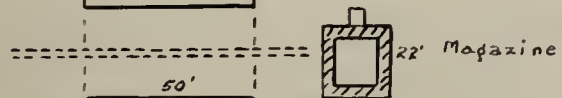
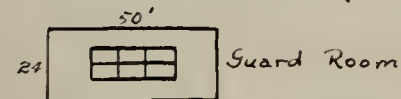
"On our first Christmas in the West we had a regular fine time--a real Christmas. I remember I was cook for our company. We had juicy buffalo steaks and several roast turkeys--yes, we had turkeys brought in from Montana by the traders. Then we had spuds and biscuits and dried fruit, and of course plenty of tea to wash them down...."(12)

12. Larkin, Edward, cited in LH Mac 75 Ann. p. 20

Colonel Macleod wasted no time in making the purposes and aims of the police clearly known to the various Indian tribes. So well was he received by them that they renamed the ancient ford,

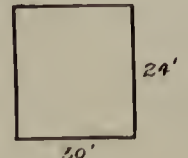


ENTRANCE

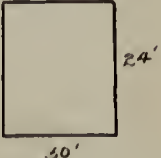


FORT MACLEOD

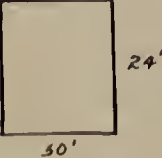
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Offrs. Qtrs



N. W. M. P. POST
Scale 85' to the Inch



FORT MCLEOD N. W. T.

Photo courtesy of R. C. M. P.

corpse was found in the early spring. (16)

16. Denny, loc. cit.

In 1875 the police established two new posts, one farther north and the other south and east of Macleod. Captain Brisbois was sent north to establish a new fort, and selected the junction of the Bow and Elbow, the present site of Calgary, for his post. John Herron, one of the original members of the North West Mounted Police who came West in 1874, was added to the escort of Major-General Selby-Smyth (17) in 1875, and he tells that Selby-Smyth chose the

17. NOTE: Selby-Smyth was an Imperial Army officer, in command of all the militia forces of Canada. In 1875 he made a tour of inspection via Winnipeg, Fort Pelly, Edmonton, Macleod, and thence home via Fort Steele and Walla Walla in the United States.

site. As the latter was on his way south from Fort Edmonton with his escort he met Captain Brisbois with his detachment who explained that he was looking for a site for a new barracks. Selby-Smyth said, "You're too far north now, Captain Brisbois, we're going south and I'll tell you when it is time to pick a barracks site." The two parties camped together that night, and the following day continued southward together to the junction of the Bow and Elbow, where was chosen the site of what was to become Calgary. If Selby-Smyth rather than Brisbois did choose the site, this might be part of the reason for Macleod's over-ruling of Brisbois when the latter wished to name the fort after himself. The barracks were made under contract by the I. G. Baker Company with D. W. Davis in charge--palisades of upright logs placed in trenches, mud floors and ceilings, and walls

plastered both sides with mud applied by hand as no trowels were available. The new post was three hundred miles from the source of supply at Fort Benton.

Fort Walsh was established in the Cypress Hills in 1875, primarily for the purpose of watching the international line in that area and also as a centre for investigation of the Cypress Hills Massacre. When the Sioux under Sitting Bull began to arrive in Canada following the Custer Massacre on the Little Big Horn in 1876, Fort Walsh became the centre of police activity in the West, and was made the headquarters for the force in 1879. The route to Fort Walsh, and thence to Fort Macleod, for a few years became even more travelled than the more famous Whoop-up Trail.

The history of Fort Walsh antedated the coming of the police. Edward McKay, a brother of a Hudson's Bay Company factor, and the great grandfather of Dr. J. O. G. Sanderson of Calgary, established a post in the Cypress Hills, May 10, 1872. Here he built several houses for himself, two married sons and hired men. This group turned the first sod in the area and grew the first potatoes. They traded with the Peigan, the Nez Perce, and the Crow, getting supplies of trade goods and alcohol from Fort Benton, along with staples such as flour, sugar, salt, drygoods, and ammunition for themselves. McKay tells of at least one hanging by Vigilantes as a result of three desperadoes stealing forty of his horses in June of 1874. (18) The other two escaped the Vigilantes but were

18. NOTE: McKay must have referred to some clandestine Vigilance Committee. The famous Vigilantes of Virginia City, organized by individual Freemasons to oust Henry Plummer and his gang of cut-throats, worked chiefly in 1863 and 1864. Granville Stuart organized a Vigilance Committee of fourteen members in 1884 which became famous as "Stuart's Stranglers". Its prime object was to subdue the horse thieves of the badlands. Estimates of the number hung by this group varied from 19 to 75. James Fergus, after whom Fergus county was named, issued a statement in the late fall of 1884 in which he averred that Stuart's committee was the result of a general understanding among all the large cattle ranchers of Montana, following the spring meeting of the Montana Stockgrowers' Association. Theodore Roosevelt was a member of this association at the time, and in his usual inimitable fiery manner would have had the Association itself declare war on the outlaws. Stuart's cool-headed foresight prevented this. Granville Stuart himself was a refined and cultured gentleman who later became special United States minister to Uruguay and Paraguay. He wrote a book of reminiscences, *Forty Years on the Frontier*, published in two volumes by A. H. Clarke in 1925. He discusses the Vigilance Committee in volume two. He died in Butte in 1918.

killed in a gun feud about the same time. Major Walsh and his detachment of police happened by accident on the McKay establishment in 1875 and built Fort Walsh at that point. (19) McKay had to close

19. McKay, W. Henry, *Story of Edward McKay, Canadian Cattlemen*, September, 1947.

his trading post because the I. G. Baker Company followed the police to Fort Walsh, and the competition of the big company was too strong for the independent trader. However, McKay did secure the contract to supply buffalo meat, butter, milk and cheese to the police, and also got the mail contract to carry the mail both ways between Fort Walsh and Fort Benton. He also kept a hand in the Indian trade, as we learn of one of his sons being among the independent traders at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877 at the signing of Treaty 7. (20)

20. Ibid

Colonel Macleod and Major Walsh were not slow to search for the perpetrators of the Cypress Hills Massacre, and in the pursuit of these men they stirred up a great deal of resentment in Montana. A detachment of police went to Helena where they found that some of the participants had died and others had left the country, but five were placed under arrest for an extradition trial--Thomas Hardwick, John Evans, John Harper, Trevanion Hale, and Jeff Devereaux. The extradition trial dragged through the greater part of the summer of 1875, not being completed until the end of July. The trial was held before U. S. Commissioner W. E. Cullen, and a long-hand transcript of the proceedings was made by Colonel James T. Stanford. (21)

21. NOTE: This transcript has never been located, and so far as known by the Montana Historical Society, is not extant. We can only surmise that someone in authority wished to have the evidence suppressed and had the transcript destroyed.

Public resentment against the police flared in Helena and throughout northern Montana as the trial progressed. (22) There was little

22. The Benton Record in its issues of March 1 and March 15, 1875, gives very sarcastic and hostile accounts of the activities of the N. W. M. P., referring to them as "grabbers of the spoil", and accusing them of seizing robes "on suspicion" that they had been obtained for whisky. Even as late as Nov. 22, 1878, this paper vilifies Major Walsh: "...record does not enhance his military skill or even his diplomatic skill in handling Indians, but speaks much of his ability as a propagator of the halfbreed race...."

doubt concerning the guilt of the men involved, but feeling among the whites was so strong against the Indians that they would have condoned almost any act of violence against them. The people could

not understand the attitude of the police, who seemed to have "the intention of hanging good Montana citizens for the shooting of a few Indians." (23) The chief witness for the police was Abe Farwell, and

23. Shepherd, George, North of the Border, Up Canada Way, RP Cent.

according to the Montana papers he was proved in court to be a "plain unvarnished liar", so Cullen discharged the prisoners for lack of what he considered sufficient evidence. Helena celebrated the night of the acquittal. All the saloons ran wide open, bonfires were lit in the streets, and the sidewalks were said to have been so thickly strewn with drunken celebrators that passage through them was difficult. There was no doubt that the police had lost this round, but they had effectively served notice that such acts could no longer be perpetrated with impunity on British territory.

The close of the Cypress Hills affair, however, did not come with the end of the extradition trial. Early in September the police caught F. Vogel, one of the participants, on a "borrowed" Indian horse on the north side of the line and imprisoned him for horse theft. (24) Two months later they brought in a true bill of

24. Benton Record, Sept. 4, 1875.

murder against Vogel and two others--G. M. Bell and James Hughes--whom they had caught in British territory. (25) They were brought

25. Benton Record, Nov. 6, 1875.

to trial in Winnipeg the following year, where the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, so they were acquitted. (26)

26. Benton Record, July 14, 1876, published the following letter to Captain John H. Evans, Grand Forks, Dacotah Territory, June 26, 1876: "Friend John, It is with pleasure that we announce to you our acquittal and discharge by the British authorities, although bound over in our own recognizance for the sum of \$2500 each, to answer two other indictments, which will amount to nothing. Our acquittal was received with satisfaction by the people of Winnipeg, as everyone here was satisfied that we were innocent of the nefarious charges made against us. The trial lasted four days.... We leave here for Bismarck, from which place we will proceed to Benton. Vogel, Bell and Hughes." Money for the defence of the three men in Winnipeg had been raised in Fort Benton.

The editor of the Benton Record, John J. Healy, was able to discredit the actions of the police with one hand while he wrote editorials praising their work in bringing law and order, and seeking their trade, with the other. In an editorial, August 21, 1875, he asks for a bonded line from Fort Benton to Canada to avoid the payment of duties. His argument was that if such a line were not granted the Hudson's Bay Company in its "slow but sure" way would soon squeeze Fort Benton out of the Canadian trade picture. He argued further that goods could be laid down at Fort Benton just as cheaply as they could be laid down at Winnipeg, and there would be only 200 miles of good road from Fort Benton to Fort Macleod instead of 700 miles of no road from Winnipeg to Fort Macleod. A month later he records that T. C. Power and Brother had secured a bonded route to Forts Kipp and Macleod, and estimated that this route should be at least twenty-five per cent cheaper than the Winnipeg route. T. C. Power had to post a bond of \$100,000. (27) The following year, a

27. Benton Record, Sept. 18, 1876

bonded route was established from Fort Benton to Fort Edmonton which

provided quicker and cheaper transportation than the Winnipeg route. The bonded freight rate from Benton to Edmonton was only eight dollars per hundredweight, as compared with eighteen dollars per hundredweight from Winnipeg to Edmonton. (28)

28. Benton Record, February 12, 1876.

One duty assigned the police when organized was to avoid by tact some of the evils of the Indian troubles in the United States. Following the Minnesota Massacre of 1862, the American Government had made treaties with their Indians ceding a large part of North Dakota and most of northern Montana to the Sioux as a reserve which would be forever free. The discovery of gold in these areas in the sixties proved too much of a temptation for the avaricious white men, and the treaty was broken. The seemingly endless influx of white miners alarmed the Indians, so they took the war trail. By 1869 practically every wagon train out of Fort Benton was being attacked. A smallpox epidemic in that year added to the fear of the Indians--the Blackfoot lost 681 men, 378 women and 341 children in five months--and they determined to exterminate the whites and free themselves from the terrible scourge of the white men's diseases.

On August 17, 1869, Malcolm Clark, a popular oldtimer, rancher, and trader of the Prickly Pear region, was shot by Indians, thought to be of Mountain Chief's band, and this act led to another of those white atrocities which spurred the Indians to greater fury. Major Baker, with a troop of cavalry and Joe Kipp as guide (29),

29. Healy, J. J., Letter to T. Adney, Seattle, August 25, 1905, in Montana Historical Library.

set out in January, 1870, in search of Mountain Chief's band. They came upon an Indian village, and opened fire in a dawn attack, January 24, 1870. The village happened to be that of a friendly Peigan chief, Heavy Runner, and the latter came running out of his lodge waving papers of friendship, but he was shot down and the slaughter continued, a total of 173 Indians, mostly women and children, being slain. This villainy is generally referred to as the Baker Massacre.

The culmination of the American Indian trouble came with the Custer Massacre on the Little Big Horn in June, 1876. Under the leadership of Sitting Bull and his war chiefs, Crow King, Crazy Horse, and Gall, the Sioux attacked and annihilated a part of the 7th U. S. Cavalry under George A. Custer. The entire troop was killed, although some Indian scouts claimed to have had a share in the fight and to have escaped by mingling with the attacking Sioux. Sitting Bull, in his own account (30), says that Custer would have

30. NOTE: Sitting Bull's account of the Custer fight is given in full in the Macleod Gazette, Anniv., June 25, 1942, p. 6. He told the story to Major Crozier of the police, who gave the original transcript of it to the late William Black, whose widow delivered it to the Macleod Gazette.

been spared but he chose to die with his men. Realizing that they could expect no quarter from the Americans, Sitting Bull and his followers turned northward to the safety of the British line.

The police were faced with a two-fold problem when the Sioux came--to keep the peace between Sioux and Blackfoot when the

former invaded the already depleted hunting grounds of the latter, and at the same time to prevent the two great confederacies from becoming too friendly for fear that they might unite against the whites. (31) Sitting Bull made several appeals to the Blackfoot to

31. Canada, Department of Justice, op. cit.

join the Sioux in their war to exterminate the white invader, but Chief Crowfoot was able to keep his young men in check. Even the Benton Record, enemy of the police as it was, expressed concern for their safety. (32) Police headquarters were moved to Fort Macleod

32. Benton Record, July 28, 1876

and the detachments at Macleod and Walsh were strengthened, while a sub-post was established at Wood Mountain where the Sioux were assembling. (33) Chief Medicine Bear of the Yankton Sioux and Chief

33. Canada, Department of Justice, op. cit.

Four Horns of the Teton arrived first at Wood Mountain to establish the winter camp, and bands of refugees drifted in throughout the winter. Sitting Bull himself arrived with the last of his followers--a total of 5600--in May, 1877. (34)

34. Ibid.

About the same time as the Custer Massacre, Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce tried to make their way north to Canada. The Nez Perce fought some of the best organized and best managed of the Indian campaigns. They were recognized as superior Indians by the white men, and they fought in a "civilized" manner in that they took no scalps, permitted no mutilation of the dead, and no mistreatment

of wounded or women prisoners. Chief Joseph was a master-mind among the Indians. He had brought his tribes through the mountains, at one time or another engaged and beaten all the troops available in Montana, and on one occasion had stolen the horses of an army and set it afoot. He and his men were caught in the Bear Paw Mountains by General Miles only because he thought he was safely across the line in Canada. Miles made one charge against Joseph's position and lost nearly a whole company, so decided to lay siege to the Nez Perce.

When Sitting Bull heard of the position of the Nez Perce, he wished to lead his braves across the boundary to join Joseph in fighting General Miles. Such an act would probably have resulted in another debacle like the Custer Massacre. It was only with the help of Chief Spotted Eagle of the Sans Arcs, Black Bull of the Uncapapa, Spotted Elk of the Minnecoug, and Broad Tail, Stone Dog, and Little Bull of the Ogalalla that Walsh was able to dissuade Sitting Bull from his design. Walsh warned the Sioux that any brave who crossed the line in warlike manner would not again be permitted to enter Canada. Sitting Bull seemed satisfied with the promise of Walsh that the Nez Perce could find refuge in Canada even as the Sioux had done, and that the U. S. Cavalry would not be allowed to follow them.

Chief Joseph realized the helplessness of his situation, and on October 5, 1877, he surrendered to General Miles with the historic words, "From where the sun now stands, I fight no more,

forever." Chief White Bird and 104 of his braves escaped into Canada and joined the Sioux encampment. This band later returned to the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho, but White Bird himself remained in Canada until his death. (35)

35. Howard, H. A., War Chief Joseph, Caxton Printers, 1941, pp. 269-285.

The attitude of the Benton Record toward the police changed after the Sioux came to Canada. This paper openly congratulated Major Walsh on his handling of the Indians, and gives considerable coverage to the activities in the Sioux camp. Immediately after the first arrivals, Walsh issued orders forbidding the sale of arms and ammunition to the Sioux. (36) This order was relaxed after

36. Benton Record, Dec. 1, 1876.

Sitting Bull himself arrived, to the extent that the Indians were issued sufficient ammunition for hunting purposes. In return, Sitting Bull gave his promise that his braves would keep the peace and would not attack the Americans from the Canadian side of the international boundary. (37) The new light in which the Record

37. Benton Record, June 15, 1877.

editor saw the police was revealed in one of his editorials, where he said concerning the adoption of the Canadian system of handling the Indians that "it would also be successful in the United States only if administered by men of the same honesty and ability as the North West Mounted Police." (38) His changed attitude also reflected

38. Benton Record, Nov. 23, 1877.

a change in American public opinion towards the police.

The United States Government sent a commission under General Terry in October, 1877, to negotiate for the return of the Sioux under Sitting Bull. The choice of General Terry as head of the Commission was unfortunate, as the Sioux knew and hated Terry. The Commission passed through Fort Benton both going to and returning from Canada. It arrived at Fort Walsh, October 16, 1877, and opened negotiations the following day, the council being held under the chairmanship of Colonel Macleod of the police, as he was the only man the Sioux chieftains would trust. Terry offered food, clothing, and reserves, and required in return that Sitting Bull and his band undertake to give up all arms, ammunition and horses not needed for civilian life, the proceeds of the sale of the surplus to be applied by the United States Government to the purchase of cattle for the Indians. Sitting Bull could not do enough to demonstrate his friendship for Macleod and the police, and his distrust and hatred of Terry and the Americans. Macleod explained to him that it was impossible for the Great White Mother to provide reserves for the Sioux, and that the hunting grounds were so depleted that he would be wise to return to his own country. Sitting Bull, however, unconditionally refused the offer of the Terry Commission, even offering Terry the supreme Indian insult of allowing a squaw to address him in council.

There has been much speculation concerning the reasons for the refusal of the American offer by the Sioux. Major Walsh expressed

the belief that the refusal of Sitting Bull was due to fear of reprisals for the Little Big Horn massacre and distrust of the concentration of troops under General Miles just across the line in Montana. Many Americans thought the police encouraged the Sioux to refuse, hoping to use them as frontier guards against Fenians and other possible attackers, at the same time expressing the opinion that the police were taking on a bigger job than they could handle.(39)

39. Benton Record, Oct. 26, 1877.

The police would have been only too glad to be rid of the Sioux, for they fully realized the responsibility placed upon them by having these 5600 alien Indians in their territory.

Hunting was sparse on the Canadian side, and Sitting Bull gradually realized that the Canadian Government would make no provision for him. On February 4, 1880, he applied to the Pine Ridge Agency for terms for his return, and regretted that no agreement could be reached at that time. (40) Small bands of stragglers

40. Vaughn, Robert, Then and Now, Tribune Printing Co., Minneapolis, 1900, pp. 370-375.

returned to Montana in 1880 and 1881, surrendering their arms as they arrived at the agencies. The last of the Sioux left Canada with Sitting Bull himself on July 18, 1881 (41), and three days later

41. Benton Record, July 28, 1881.

surrendered at Fort Buford. After standing trial, Sitting Bull was taken to the Standing Rock Agency, where he became very influential as a priest. He was shot, December 15, 1891, resisting arrest for

"ghost dancing", and so passed from the scene one of the great Indians of modern times. (42)

42. Vaughn, op. cit. p. 386.

The coming of the Sioux meant that there were four powerful elements in the area comprising Alberta: the Sioux in the south, the Hudson's Bay Company in the north, the Blackfoot Confederacy in the foothills, and the police omnipresent. The Sioux were but a transitory factor, and the power of the Hudson's Bay Company was fast waning since they had surrendered their extensive claims to the British Crown, which had transferred them to the Canadian Government, so the main job of the police was to establish a basis for permanent agreement with the Blackfoot Confederacy.

A great council of all the tribes of the Confederacy was called for the summer of 1877 at Blackfoot Crossing, and here were worked out the terms of Indian Treaty 7, the most far-reaching of all the Indian treaties. The force at Fort Walsh was preoccupied with the Sioux, so the whole escort for Governor Laird was drawn from Macleod and Calgary. (43) Treaty 7 covered the area from the

43. Denny, op. cit. p. 95.

Bow River to the Boundary, and from the Cypress Hills to the Rocky Mountains. Treaty negotiations nearly broke down when Jerry Potts could not understand the mode of speech of Governor Laird, but fortunately Jimmy Jock Bird (44) was found among the Indians, and

44. cf. footnote p. 38.

he proved satisfactory to both sides. (45)

45. NOTE: W. H. Cox in his Diary, cited in LH Gold Jub. pp. 67-76, gives an example of interpreter troubles that were sometimes encountered: "A big council was held at the Blood Reserve, Dave Mills, interpreter. Old Red Crow, head chief, spoke half an hour without a stop. Old Dave just saying, 'Ah. Mm. Ah. Mm.' This went on for a long time until the Governor-General got tired of this song Dave was singing. He said, 'What does he say, interpreter?' 'He says you fellows want to give him some more grub.' Another quarter hour. The same old thing. 'What does he say, interpreter?' 'Oh, same thing, want more grub.' This Dave Mills was half nigger and half Indian. His English was very limited, but he always said he was one of the first white men in the country."

The annual treaty payment made by the Canadian Government was to be \$5 per individual, \$15 to minor chiefs, and \$25 to chiefs, with double treaty the first year. Considerable trouble was experienced because the Indians had a superstition against revealing the names or numbers of their families, and they did not understand the paper money supplied for the payment by the I. G. Baker Company, so the police had all they could manage to keep the traders honest. Baker, Power, and the Hudson's Bay Company had stores on the treaty grounds, besides the establishments of the independent traders. N. T. Macleod reported that the I. G. Baker Company had sales of \$3500 in three hours after the treaty payment. (46)

46. Lethbridge Herald, April 25, 1949.

Blood, July, 1883, gave them the largest single reserve in the Dominion of Canada, an area of about 540 square miles.

Following the above two treaties, the police had very little trouble with the Indians. W. H. Cox records in his Diary that he and Staff Sergeant Horner received at Wild Horse Lake in 1881 a

band of Canadian Indians escorted to the line by several battalions of United States soldiers. He states that he had a four-horse wagon loaded with flour, tea, bacon and dried meat for the Indians, and that the latter had a "big time at Wild Horse Lake that night", while the American Major expressed surprise that the police were so few in numbers. In 1883, the police had some trouble with the South Peigan, American treaty Indians. Following a disturbance on their reserve in 1882, the American government had placed some troops among them, and many of the braves decided to join their brothers north of the boundary, where they caused considerable unrest before being persuaded to return. (47) After the North West Rebellion,

47. Denny, op. cit. p. 166.

numbers of Cree Indians had fled to Montana and settled, and the American government wished them to return to their own country. In 1896, United States troops escorted 531 of these Indians with 1300 horses and all their equipment to the line, where they were received by Inspector R. B. Deane and one constable, "much to the astonishment of the American officer and his men." (48) Other than these few

48. Kelly, op. cit. p. 301.

episodes there was no appreciable Indian trouble.

Before leaving the Indians and the Indian reserves, it is interesting to note a reason for the distribution of the reserves among the various churches. During the early 1890's, three men prominent in the Indian missions met by accident in the Macleod Hotel while awaiting a stage: Reverend John McDougall, Methodist; Father

Lacombe, Roman Catholic; and Bishop Pinkham, Anglican. In the course of conversation, McDougall complained of his lack of success with the Blood. The three thereupon made a pact that the southern reserves would be left to the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics, while the Methodists would confine their efforts to the northern reserves. (49)

49. Gooderham, G. H., Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, letter to the writer, Calgary, Feb. 1, 1950. I quote: "On the Blood, Blackfoot, Peigan and Sarcee Reserves, the mission work is done by the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches. There is a United Church and residential school at Morley." R. D. Ragan, Superintendent of the Blood Indian Reserve, Cardston, informs the writer in a letter dated Jan. 17, 1950, that the Mormons have placed missionaries on the Blood Reserve during the past year.

The North West Mounted Police maintained reasonably good order along the boundary. There were cases of criminality, of course, and the police dealt with these as best they could. Craig remarks that there was a marked contrast between conditions on the two sides of the line, and credits most of it to the fact that the police had curbed the liquor traffic in Canada, while liquor sales and gambling were both common in Montana. (50) Horse thieves from Montana caused

50. Craig, op. cit.

a stir in the 1880's, but the Montana Stock Association took a firm hand in helping the police to stop their activities. On one occasion when the Association caught thieves with the horses, they notified the police because some of the horses had Canadian brands. When the police arrived, they were given the horses but no men, with the simple explanation that the thieves would steal no more unless there were horses in the hereafter. (51) Poetic justice took care of some

51. cf. footnote re "Stuart's Stranglers" p. 93.

evildoers with no help from the police. Gus Brede, known as King of the Smugglers because he carried whisky one way and Chinamen the other, was killed by lightning on the trail to Fort Benton in 1891. (52)

52. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

In 1894 Corporal Dickson of the Writing-on-Stone detachment caught a whole band of outlaws in the Sweetgrass Hills. He first ran off their horses, then fired off all their arms while they were after the horses, and then arrested them. Although the arrest was made north of one of the boundary cairns, a new survey revealed that the cairn was out of line and that the outlaws were really on American territory, so they were freed. However, the United States authorities by this time took an interest in the matter and cleaned out the band with a troop of cavalry. (53)

53. Ibid, pp. 287-288. NOTE: The police annals have accounts of many instances such as the above, which imply that one policeman was as effective as a troop of American cavalry.

By the turn of the century, the authorities on both sides of the line were working in reasonable cooperation with each other. In 1895 Constable Richardson was attacked south of the boundary by an old enemy who shot him in the hip, but such acts were uncommon. (54)

54. Ibid, p. 294.

In 1902, James Fisher, wanted for stealing cattle in Canada, was arrested by Sheriff C. Wallace Taylor of Choteau, Montana, whereupon Fisher waived extradition proceedings and returned to Canada, where

he was sentenced to five years imprisonment. (55) This was but an

55. Ibid, p. 349.

early example of the cooperation which has marked legal relations in more recent years.

Agitation resulted in Canada from the fact that while American citizens could pursue horse thieves into Canada and have them tried and punished by the Canadian magistrates, the Canadian police were not permitted to pursue thieves or prosecute south of the line. (56) The Commissioner of Police in his annual report, 1884,

56. Macleod Gazette, Sept. 14, 1883.

says that every effort was made to return horses stolen by Canadian Indians on the American side, but that American Indians raiding on the Canadian side and returning home escaped punishment. He says in part:

"I regret to say that those stolen horses could not be secured though they were traced by their owners across the line, as the United States Indian Department did not show the same disposition to aid our citizens as we have invariably, as far as lay in our power, afforded them." (57)

57. Sessional Papers, #125, 47 Victoria A 1884, pp. 16-17.

In July, 1884, Superintendent McIlree was sent to Fort Assiniboine, Montana, to get the help of the United States military forces to suppress horse thieves. Colonel Coppinger of the post replied that he would be glad to cooperate but that he must first get some higher authority. He referred the matter to General Ruger at Helena, who referred it to his Department Headquarters, who referred it to Washington. Nothing further was heard of the matter

until September 1, when Coppinger wired McIlree his regrets that he was not permitted by the authorities to enter into any negotiations on the subject, as his powers were limited to recovering Government horses and to keeping trespassers off the Indian Reserves. Thus we see that it was indifference at Washington which caused some of the friction in the two frontier communities. (58)

58. Sessional Papers, #153, 48 Victoria A 1885, p. 16.

The police were unable to take care of all the justice that was meted out in the early days. Occasionally the people took a leaf from the book of the Vigilantes in Montana. Two examples will suffice:

"One stage driver used his whip to force passengers to get out and push up a steep hill. After the latter reloaded their guns they held an inquest, and decided that the driver had perished of pneumonia." (59)

59. River Press, Centennial.

"A man named Bowles was lynched by some cowboys....He refused to assist them to fight a prairie fire, and after the boys got it out...they took him out and hung him." (60)

60. Macleod Gazette, October 14, 1882.

However, the general tendency in Canada was to leave all such matters to the police.

During the early years of its establishment in the West, the police force did a tremendous business with the American trading firm of I. G. Baker. The totals of the police accounts for the first three years were as follows:

1874-1875	\$23,395.06
1875-1876	122,771.85
1876-1877	122,057.00 (61)

61. Sessional Papers, #188, 42 Victoria A 1879, p. 2, p. 31, and pp. 129-130. NOTE: The figures for trade with the I. G. Baker Company were not included in the printed papers for other years.

The first figure is for only part of a year. A breakdown of the figures for the two complete years is given in Appendix A of the thesis. Appendix B gives a schedule of prices of various commodities delivered to the different posts in 1880, the only year for which contract figures are available.

Chapter X The Cattlemen

Cattle dealings played a very important part in Alberta-Montana relations from very early times. Only a few head of stock were found in southern Alberta before the Police came, but as soon as law and order were brought to the area the exceptional grazing properties of the foothill grasses tempted ranchers to come to Alberta in increasing numbers. The earliest ranchers in Alberta were John and David McDougall. They brought in fifty head of horses, on November 20, 1871, and the following year purchased one hundred head of steers and breeding stock from Ford of Montana. (1)

1. Kelly, op. cit., p. 111

As soon as the Police came, a few settlers straggled into the area around Macleod and some of them had a few head of cattle. Small herds could supply the domestic demand until a larger market could be established. In 1875, the I. G. Baker Company got the contract to supply beef to the new police post at Calgary. They sublet this to a man named Shaw, (2) who thus has the honor of having

2. NOTE: Little is known of Shaw, except that he brought his beef herd in through the Kootenay Pass, stayed at Morley about one year, and then proceeded north toward Edmonton.

sold the first beef cattle in Calgary, which was to become a great cattle mart in a few years time. Three small dairy herds were brought into the Macleod area during the same year, one at Brockett by William Lee, one down river from Macleod by Joe McFarland and Henry Olsen, and one up river from Macleod by Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong and

their foreman, Morgan. (3) Mrs. Armstrong, apparently the business

3. Kelly, op. cit. pp. 112-113.

manager of this establishment, made a profitable contract to supply dairy products to the police in Macleod. The business did not last long, however, as Mrs. Armstrong and Morgan retired to Montana in 1879, where they were murdered in 1882. (4)

4. Ibid, p. 156

Several men started ranching in Alberta in 1876-77. In 1876 Jim Christy brought horses and George Emerson brought cattle from Montana into the Macleod district. (5) W. F. Parker, an ex-

5. Ibid, p. 115

policeman, started cattle ranching with the purchase of some stock from J. J. Healy. (6) Lafayette French and O. H. Smith became the

6. Ibid, p. 116

first settlers in the High River district the same year. They established their headquarters immediately west of the present town on the old Fort Benton-Fort Edmonton trail, their ranch providing a stopping-place and a post office. (7) Several other retired police,

7. Riley, Senator Dan, Reminiscences of a Range Rider, LH Gold Jub. pp. 59-60.

including J. B. Smith, H. Bell, J. D. Murray, and Robert Patterson, followed Parker's example in 1877. They purchased basic herd stock from George Emerson and Tim Lynch, who were beginning to develop an important business of buying in Montana, driving to Alberta, and selling at a profit without the risk of holding the stock over winter. (8) John Miller came in from Montana in 1877 bringing range stock

8. Kelly, op. cit. p. 121

with him. (9) The following year Baker and Lynch and Emerson brought

9. Ibid.

in considerable numbers of stock for disposal to new ranchmen. (10)

10. Ibid.

C. E. Denny, another ex-policeman, contracted for one hundred head of yearling heifers with Lynch and Emerson, price delivered to Calgary ten dollars per head. (11)

11. Denny, op. cit. p. 110.

An effective damper was being placed on the growth of ranches in 1878-79 by the Indians. The buffalo herds were becoming so depleted that the Indians were sorely tempted to steal the white man's cattle to feed themselves. They provided a really difficult problem for the police, because they stole only as they butchered, and there was seldom any evidence against them. The government attempted to put a stop to this Indian stealing by importing large quantities of beef through the I. G. Baker Company to feed the Indians. In 1879 they brought about one thousand head of stock to the Porcupine Hills for this purpose. (12)

12. Blue, op. cit. p. 321

All the individual ranch owners at this time were small-scale operators. Many of them had no legal right to the land, but simply ran their stock on the open range, took their chances with Nature and the Indians, and reaped the profits of the natural increase of their herds.

The Canadian Government in 1880 opened large areas for leases at attractive rates--one cent per acre per year. (13) Having

13. Kelly, op. cit. p. 142

seen the effects of overstocking which had resulted from the Montana lease system of rental per head, Canada profited by the mistakes of her neighbor by using the acre rental basis with restrictions as to the number of cattle which could be grazed on any area. (14) The

14. Blue, op. cit. p. 322

opportunities for profits in the cattle business were so great that many large companies were formed and ranching boomed in southern Alberta in the eighties and nineties. No duty was imposed on stock imported if it was not sold for three years after entry. This regulation proved to be no hardship and no deterrent to imports, as the "baby beef" market had not yet been developed and prime beef was considered to be a four or five year old steer.

In 1886, the lease rate was doubled, and a tariff of twenty per cent was placed on all American stock imported. (15) This heavy

15. Kelly, op. cit. p. 189.

tariff proved such a deterrent to many Montana stockmen who had been running stock on both sides of the line, that some tried to circumvent the law. Conrad Brothers owned Circle brand stock on both sides, and it was impossible to distinguish American stock which "strayed" to the Canadian ranch. The Spencers of Montana tried a similar scheme. They purchased six hundred head of stockers in Ontario, shipped them to Alberta, and started a ranch at Manyberries with

their 3CU brand. (16) They, also, seemed to accumulate large numbers

16. Ibid, pp. 308-309

of "strays" from their over-grazed ranches south of the line. To prevent such chicanery, the Canadian Government provided in 1901 that every brand used in Canada had to be registered, and if it were the same as an American brand it had to be placed on the opposite ribs so that American and Canadian cattle could be distinguished. (17)

17. Ibid, p. 336

Following the opening of cheap leases by the Canadian government in 1880, several large company-owned ranches were established in Alberta. Among the better known of these, with some of their personnel were: the Circle, Conrad Brothers and I. G. Baker owners, Howell Harris (18) manager, Frank Strong, (19) foreman; the

18. NOTE: Howell Harris and Frank Strong had a livery stable in Fort Benton in 1882 in partnership, and came to Alberta together in the employ of the Conrad brothers. A. O. Macrae, in his History of the Province of Alberta, cites recollections of Howell Harris from which we glean the following: He came to Canada for the first time in the fall of 1869 after stolen stock. In 1871 he directed the bull train which came to Whoop-up to collect the winter's catch of fur from Healy and Hamilton. The fort was burned by Indians just after Harris left, but was rebuilt. In September of the same year he built Fort Conrad three miles below Fort Kipp, and another post three miles above the present High River in December, where he spent the winter. In March, 1872, Starchild, the Indian who shot Constable Grayburn seven years later, attempted to shoot him. Jerry Potts would have shot Starchild on the spot, but Harris prevented him from doing so. During the summer of 1872 he freighted on the Benton-Helena route, returning to Canada to help build Fort Stand-off in the fall. He started his return journey to Fort Benton on December 17, and was caught in a severe blizzard--so severe that some forty of seventy-five American soldiers caught between Benton and Fort Shaw in the same storm perished from exposure. He freighted in Montana

until 1875, when he again came to Canada, this time with a train load of flour for the police post at Fort Macleod. In 1877 he reported that he had a contract to supply the police with 500 tons of hay. He was in charge of the supply trains which accompanied Governor Laird to both the Blackfoot Treaty in 1877 and the Sounding Lake Treaty with Big Bear in 1878. He did some prospecting at the head of the Belly River in 1877, and reported that he found the "biggest piece of pure tin on record in this continent and it is now in the United States Assay Office in Helena." His last year with the bull trains was 1878. In later years he became a Councillor at both Lethbridge and Fort Benton. He died at Benton.

19. NOTE: Frank Strong came to Montana from Michigan in 1871 and to Alberta in 1880. He died in Victoria in 1888.

Cochrane Ranch Company, Major Walker manager, Casous foreman; the Northwest Cattle Company or Bar U, Fred Stimson manager, George Lane foreman, Nigger John Ware (20), Herb Miller (21), Phil Weinard,

20. NOTE: Nigger John Ware came from Idaho through Montana to Alberta. He was one of the best riders of the early days. After leaving the Bar U, he worked for the Quorn, and later established the 19 for himself. He was killed by a gentle horse falling on him. The Indians called him In-a-toxe-sex-appe-quin, Bad black white man.

21. NOTE: Herb Miller remained with the Bar U until 1935, something of a record. He died early in 1950.

and Jim Meinsinger, all hands; the Walrond Ranch Company, James Patterson, manager; the Oxley Ranch Company (22), John Craig

22. NOTE: The Oxley Ranch Company was an English company organized in 1882. Craig was given to understand that his company was backed with unlimited capital, and proceeded accordingly to take two leases of 100,000 acres each, and to purchase considerable stock in Montana. He was given no cash, and as a result he had to buy stock on credit--a most unusual procedure--and to sell some stock cash in advance--a still more unorthodox procedure for those times. Another temporary expedient adopted by Craig in his financial troubles was to borrow from the I. G. Baker Company. Conrad willingly made the advances he needed

with interest at the rate of one per cent per month. One creditor, Frank Farmer, perished on the road to the Oxley Ranch in an attempt to collect his claim, and other creditors were able to collect only through a seizure by the sheriff. This most irregular financial procedure left a bad odor in ranching circles in both Alberta and Montana, and hurt the credit of other ranchers.

manager; the Brown Ranch, Walter Ross, owner; the Powder River Cattle Company (23); and the McIntyre Ranch, W. H. McIntyre owner. A

23. NOTE: The Powder River Cattle Company came in from Wyoming, and settled on Mosquito Creek just before the severe winter of 1886. They suffered less than any other company that winter, possibly because they were experienced cattlemen and had taken the precaution to come in with a dry herd, killing all calves born along the way.

considerable number of individual owners, including Dave Akers, John Quirk (24), John Sullivan, D. J. Whitney, Hod Main, Maunsell brothers,

24. NOTE: F. W. Ings tells the story of John Quirk in LH Gold Jub. pp. 52-58. The Quirks were married in Ireland in the seventies, and Johnny left for America to seek their fortunes. He went first to Detroit, then followed the gold rush to Montana, where he entered a partnership with John Sullivan and had a reasonable degree of success. Mrs. Quirk, after not hearing from her husband for a period of years, followed him to Montana, broke up the partnership, and made her husband buy cattle with his capital, trailing them to a ranch at Kew, on the north fork of Sheep Creek.

George W. Roe, and Jim Harris, also took advantage of the cheap leases. Most of these men came from Montana, bringing stock with them, and those who came from other places bought stock in Montana and trailed it into Alberta.

Increased demand for cattle meant increased prices. We have already noted that C. E. Denny bought his first herd in 1878 for \$10 a head. Dave Grier had to pay \$20 a head in 1881, and had some difficulty in getting them for that price when he went to

Choteau, Montana, to take delivery. The Walrond Ranch Company two years later had to pay \$32 a head for their first herd, 3125 head purchased from the Judith Cattle Company in Montana. (25)

25. Buchanan, C. W., History of the Walrond Cattle Ranch Ltd.,
Canadian Cattlemen, March, 1946.

The style of cowboy attire came from the American side of the line along with the cattle. The River Press tells of one drive of cattle from Texas to Alberta which swam the Missouri at Fort Benton. The account in part is as follows:

"The band was accompanied by twenty men, and headed by Lords (sic) Waldren (sic) and Cochrane, who to the delight of impious cowpunchers wore fore and aft caps, knee pants, gaiters, rolled stockings, monocles, and sideburns." (26)

26. River Press, Centennial

The cowboys who brought in the Cochrane herd introduced the chaps, big hats, high-heeled boots, and spurs that we have learned to associate with stockmen ever since. (27)

27. Cox, W. H., Diary of a Mountie, cited in LH Gold Jub. pp.67-76.

From the late seventies until the end of the century, prairie fires took a severe toll every year. These fires burned over large areas, and sometimes for several weeks at a time without any control being exercised. Such fires were partly responsible for driving the last of the buffalo south of the Missouri River in 1878. (28) W. H. Cox reported that on one trip from Fort Walsh to Fort

28. Kelly, op. cit. p. 122.

Macleod in August, 1881, he saw one strip eighty miles long that had been burned by a prairie fire. (29) W. H. McIntyre reported that

29. Cox, op. cit.

after he bought his first ranch near Cardston in 1894 fires burned for several weeks each fall, but that in general they were confined to the area east of the Lethbridge-Great Falls narrow gauge railway. (30) Agriculturists might find in this fact a reason for the

30. McIntyre, W. H., Story of the McIntyre Ranch, Canadian Cattleman, September, 1947.

lesser fertility of the soil east of the present Canadian Pacific Railway line, Lethbridge to Coutts, as compared with the area west of the line.

In 1884, a meeting of stock growers was called for the purpose of forming the Western Stock Growers' Association. As this was a new venture and many of the men were from Montana, the rules of the Montana Stock Association of Choteau were adopted, another contribution of Montana to Alberta progress. Jim Scott, former mail-carrier on the Benton-Macleod route, was appointed the first stock inspector. (31)

31. Cox, op. cit.

The Western Stock Growers' Association and the Montana Stock Association found common ground for cooperation in trying to control various cattle diseases. In 1889, blackleg began to spread from Alberta to Montana herds. In 1892, scab appeared in Alberta sheep flocks, having come from Montana. Cattle mange began to spread northward into Alberta in 1893, and horse mange appeared in 1902. In March, 1892, the Police gave notice that all stock coming into Canada must undergo a period of ninety days quarantine, and set up a quarantine ground between the north and south forks of the Milk

River, under Indian herders. The task became so onerous, however, that the regulations were dropped against all Canadian stock that had strayed south of the line during the winter storms and all Montana ranch stock, the quarantine thus applying only to imported domestic stock. (32) By 1900 the two Stock Growers' Associations were fully

32. Kelly, op. cit. p. 270.

cooperating to dip stock in an attempt to control mange, and by 1904 the veterinary inspector reported that this disease was effectively cleared from Canadian herds. (33)

33. Ibid, p. 358

By the middle eighties the Montana ranges were becoming seriously depleted because of overstocking, which had resulted partly at least because of the Montana lease system of rentals at so much per head of stock. After the twenty per cent tariff was imposed on imports of American stock in 1886 there was considerable border trouble, with American stock pressing over the line to the lush grazing on the Alberta side. The police were kept busy patrolling the boundary to turn back stock, and sometimes they had recourse to more rigorous measures to keep the American ranchmen on their own side of the line. In the summer of 1887, they seized and sold 183 head of Spencer stock, and for a short time this proved an effective check. (34) By 1895 the chief offenders were the bigger companies

34. Ibid, p. 205.

such as the Benton and St. Louis Cattle Company (the Conrad Brothers Circle brand) and the Conrad Kohrs and Company, DS brand. There was

considerable evidence that these companies shipped thousands of head of cattle by rail to within a few miles of the boundary, where they unloaded them and headed them north. (35) By 1901, it was estimated

35. Ibid, pp. 296-297

that there were 16,000 head of stock north of the Marias hills, with only six men to ride line herd--a number increased to nine after many complaints by the Western Stock Growers' Association. (36)

36. Ibid, p. 329

Finally, after sixteen years of border trouble, an arrangement was made which eased the situation in 1902. American stockmen were permitted to lease land in Canada and bring in stock from Montana provided that they paid the duty on it. Some of the leases granted to Americans that year were: Spencers, 90,000 acres; C. E. Hallward, 60,000 acres; J. A. Thatcher, 65,000 acres; A. G. Day, 65,000 acres; D. A. Richardson, 11,000 acres; J. O. Born, 10,000 acres; John Jenson, 4,500 acres; J. W. Taylor, 47,000 acres; George M. Cannon, 10,000 acres; J. D. Wasesha, 22,000 acres; and Wallace and Brown, 100,000 acres. Tony Day shipped 22,000 head of cattle from Trinidad, Colorado, to Billings, Montana, then trailed them to his lease seventy miles south of Medicine Hat, after paying \$40,000 duty. (37)

37. Ibid, pp. 338-340

The following year a Canadian Customs Bulletin warned that all foreign livestock found in Canada after June 1, 1903, would be subject to seizure and forfeiture except in the case of bona fide

estrays. Because of a severe late snow storm, American owners were given one month's grace, after which time they were conscientious in hiring sufficient line riders and building some border fence. (38)

38. Ibid, p. 353.

In 1904, the length of border fence was increased to ninety miles, and the border trouble was effectively ended. (39)

39. Ibid, p. 358.

The first sheep to enter Alberta were five head brought into the Macleod area by Joe McFarland in 1877. (40) The first sheep

40. Ibid, pp. 120-121

leases granted by the Canadian government were given in 1881, and foundation stock of Merino and Rambouillet breeds was brought in from Montana and Wyoming following this date. (41) The British

41. Blue, op. cit. p. 345.

American Horse Ranch Company, a subsidiary of the Cochrane Ranch Company, brought in the first large flock, about 5000 head, in 1884. (42) Thus we see that the same company that began cattle

42. Kelly, op. cit. pp. 168-169.

ranching on a large scale also started the first large sheep camp. Alberta's first wool clip, shipped east in 1885 from Calgary, amounted to 70,000 pounds. (43)

43. Calgary Herald, Diamond Jubilee, July 13, 1943, p. 2, sect. 1.

Chapter XI Railways and Settlement

The building of three lines of railway was important either directly or indirectly in the history of Alberta-Montana relationships. These lines were the Canadian Pacific Railway from Medicine Hat to Calgary, the Lethbridge-Dunmore line, built by the North-West Coal and Navigation Company, and the link from Lethbridge to Great Falls built by the Alberta Railway and Coal Company and the Great Falls and Canada Railway Company.

The Canadian Pacific Railway built rapidly across the level prairie lands of Alberta in 1883. The first train reached Medicine Hat on June 10. By July 21 the rails had reached Blackfoot Crossing and the first train entered Calgary on August 10. (1) The coming

1. Calgary Herald, 50th Anniv., October 13, 1923.

of the Canadian Pacific Railway to southern Alberta marked the end of the great freighting outfits from Benton along the Whoop-up Trail. Calgary began to assume her place as the distribution centre for southern Alberta instead of the old post at the head of navigation on the Missouri.

Sir Alexander Galt and his son, Elliott T. Galt, early realized that the North-West Coal and Navigation Company must have a much wider market for its coal than the settlements around Lethbridge and Macleod could provide. The attempt to supply the Canadian Pacific Railway by the use of boats and barges on the Oldman River proved abortive, but the coal was so suitable that the railway company offered the Galts a long term contract for large amounts if

they would undertake to deliver it at Dunmore. The North-West Coal and Navigation Company immediately applied for a charter to build a narrow-guage railway between Lethbridge and Dunmore, and some grading was done in the fall of 1884. The North West Rebellion delayed the project for a time in the spring of 1885, but the line was completed during the summer of that year. The little company laid the 109 miles of track in 43 working days, and had the line completed by August 28. (2) The official opening date was September 24, 1885,

2. Eggleston, W., NEWS Tells of Early Buildings, LH. Gold Jub. p. 89.

although the road had been in use for nearly a month at that time. (3)

3. Dominion Annual Register for 1885.

The rolling stock included 6 locomotives, 2 auxiliary water tenders, 95 coal cars each with a capacity of 9 to 10 tons, 1 pay car, 4 cabooses, 12 freight cars, 2 accomodation cabooses, 2 passenger cars, and 6 stock cars. (4) In spite of its diminutive size, much traffic

4. Eggleston, loc. cit.

moved over this line in the years that followed before it was acquired by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in 1897.

The Galts early realized the potentialities of the Lethbridge coal field, and turned their eyes southward for an expanded market. The Alberta Railway and Coal Company was organized in 1889 to succeed the North-West Coal and Navigation Company, and it immediately applied for a charter to build a railway line south to the boundary. The new company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, March 20, 1889. (5) A further spur to effort was the fact that

5. Statutes of Canada, Vol. 1 and 2, Chapter 50, 1889.

another company was at the same time applying for a charter asking for a subsidy to build a road from Calgary to Benton in the event that the first road failed to go through with its project. (6) The

6. Edmonton Bulletin, March 29, 1890.

Alberta Railway and Coal Company was financed through Baring Brothers of London, and just in time, as this firm also acted as the financial agent of the Argentine Government, and when that government defaulted on payments in 1890, Baring Brothers were forced into liquidation. (7)

7. Wilson, E. H., Lethbridge and the A. R. and I., LH. Ann. p. 9, sect. 2. NOTE: Wilson was the London secretary of the A. R. and I., successor to the Alberta Railway and Coal Co.

The charter to build from Great Falls north was secured by the Great Falls and Canada Railway Company, promoted by A. T. Galt, W. G. Conrad, and S. T. Hauser, ex-governor of Montana. (8) The contractor

8. Helena Independent, Sept. 11, 1889.

for the Canadian section was P. Egan, and for the American section Donald Grant and I. S. Ross. (9) Chief engineer for the whole project

9. Great Falls Tribune, May 28, 1890.

was W. D. Barclay. (10) It was early decided to make the gauge of

10. Ibid, Feb. 1, 1890, p. 4.

the new line the same as that of the Lethbridge-Dunmore line, thus providing a link between the Canadian Pacific Railway at Medicine Hat and the Northern Pacific Railway at Benton.

Surveys of the route were completed and grading started out of Great Falls on February 2, 1890. Work from the Lethbridge end started in May. (11) We quote from a private letter from Lewis and

11. Ibid, May 28, 1890.

Clark County, Montana, as follows:

"The new railroad, Montana and Canada, is being rapidly pushed to completion. It will run from Great Falls to Lethbridge, will pass about 25 miles east of Choteau and 8 miles west of the West Butte of the Sweetgrass Hills. It is narrow guage. Iron is laid and construction trains are running on about 35 miles of track. Eighty miles of grade is completed and the Teton bridged. Most of the grading is being done by machines called graders, drawn by 12 horses. One machine works on each side of the road bed, thereby completing it as they go. Four men are required to run each machine, and they build from half a mile to 5 miles a day. These machines are adapted for light work and comparatively level country. This railroad is being built very cheaply and does not rank very highly as an engineering feat. Wages are lower than on any other work in the country --\$1.75 per day for men, out of which is taken \$5.25 per week for board and \$1 per month for hospital fees, besides \$3 for road tax and \$2 for poor tax per year. The contractors expect to finish the road this fall." (12)

12. Edmonton Bulletin, June 21, 1890.

The road was to have been completed by September 1, but it was delayed by rains. Actual working time for building the link was 108 days. (13) The first excursion train ran over the line from

13. Ibid, Sept. 27, 1890.

Great Falls to Lethbridge on October 15, 1890. (14) The trip, 201

14. Great Falls Tribune, Oct. 18, 1890, p. 4.

miles, took from 8:30 p. m. one day to 11:00 p.m. the next. (15)

15. Lethbridge News, Oct. 29, 1890.

The railway from Lethbridge to Great Falls was not the last scheme promoted by Galt. Another short line of importance to southern Alberta was built by a company organized by him in 1903. This was the St. Mary River Railway Company which built a narrow guage line from Stirling to Cardston in that year. (16)

16. Statutes of Canada, Vol. 11, 1903, ch. 187

These small companies were soon absorbed by larger concerns. The Canadian Pacific Railway acquired the Lethbridge-Dunmore line in 1897 and changed it to standard guage. (17) In the fiscal year between

17. Blue, op. cit. p. 314.

June 30, 1900 and June 30, 1901, the Great Northern Railway Company purchased the line from Great Falls to Coutts on the International boundary from the Great Falls and Canada Company. This line was operated by the Great Falls and Canada Company for about a year after the purchase until the narrow guage could be changed to standard. (18)

18. Great Northern Railway annual report, 1901, p. 12.

In 1904, the Alberta Railway and Coal Company, the Canadian North West Irrigation Company, and the St. Mary River Railway Company were amalgamated as the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company (19), and

19. Statutes of Canada, Vols. 1 and 2, 1904, chapter 43.

the interests of this new company were acquired by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1911. (20) Thus we see that the large companies

20. Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Oct. 4, 1911, p. 8.

eventually had control of all the railway lines in the Alberta-Montana area, but we should not lose sight of the fact that little companies did much to develop the area.

The Dominion Lands Act, 1872, cleared the way for agricultural settlement on the virgin plains of the West, but it was not until after the Police came to southern Alberta in the late fall of 1874 that settlement really started, and not until after the Canadian Pacific Railway came in 1883 that settlers came in considerable

numbers.

When the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867 there were probably not more than ten or a dozen white men in southern Alberta, and most of these were transient traders. One who might be regarded as a settler was Reverend George McDougall of the Morley district near Calgary, who was joined by his son, David McDougall, in the Confederation year. Dave Akers was another white man who had come to Alberta before the Police and remained after they came to become a settler with headquarters at Fort Whoop-up, where he grew a fine garden within the enclosure. (21) Jack Collins settled in the

21. NOTE: Dave Akers was an old whisky trader who worked for Healy and Hamilton. When the latter refused to sell the post at Whoop-up to the police, Akers squatted there and used the fort as his headquarters. For a time he was in partnership with Tom Purcell, a Montana gunman, and in an altercation that ensued concerning the division of stock when the partnership broke up, Purcell shot and killed Akers. On account of his age, Purcell escaped with a sentence of three years in the penitentiary.

Pincher Creek area the same year that the Police came, becoming the pioneer settler of that community. As late as 1881 W. H. Cox reports no settlers between Macleod and High River. Near the latter point lived Old Man Livingstone, Piskan Munroe, Tom Lynch and Lafayette French, all from Montana. From High River to Calgary there was only John Glenn, established on Fish Creek near the present site of the Lacombe Home. (22) C. A. Magrath reported that on a journey from

22. Cox, loc. cit. NOTE: John Glenn had married a halfbreed woman and had taken up farming on this site. He was credited with the first irrigation project in Alberta.

Winnipeg to Macleod in 1881 he saw only one squatter between Fort

Ellice on the Assiniboine and Fort Macleod, a distance of six hundred miles, and that one was Nicholas Sheran at Coal Banks (Lethbridge). (23)

23. Magrath, C. A., Makers of Lethbridge, LH Gold Jub. pp. 2-4.

Joseph McFarland, the man who claims to have grown the first wheat in commercial quantities in the area, was from Montana. He emigrated from Ireland and brought about 25 head of milch cows from Montana to the vicinity of Macleod in 1875 with the intention of supplying dairy products to the Police. As the Police were then paying \$1.70 per bushel for oats, McFarland broke some land and grew oats for them, thus laying indubitable claim to being southern Alberta's first farmer. In 1882 a promoter from Calgary came to Fort Macleod and promised to build a grist mill if wheat were grown in the district. McFarland harvested 250 bushels of wheat in 1882, but the grist mill did not materialize, so the grain was sold as chicken feed. (24)

24. Macleod Gazette, Anniv. June 25, 1942, p. 1

Other early farmers included David J. Grier and Francis Willock. The former, an ex-policeman, homesteaded in 1883, imported seed wheat from Brandon at \$5 a bushel, and recouped his outlay by selling his first crop to his neighbors for seed at the same price. (25)

25. LH Gold Jub. p. 30.

Willock came from eastern Canada and took squatter's rights near Pincher Creek in 1882. From a head of Golden Chaff wheat--a soft, beardless, heavy-yielding, easy shelling strain--which he found in

his pocket, he soon raised good quantities of seed, starting with the crop of 1883. (26) From these small beginnings, the increase in

26. Ibid.

wheat production was rapid. The bumper crop of 1906, 5,923,000 bushels, gave tremendous impetus to settlement projects, and between 1914 and 1935 more than 506,000,000 bushels of wheat were shipped from the Lethbridge area.

The railways, of course, carried on extensive settlement campaigns. The Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company was at least partly responsible for the coming of the Mormons to southern Alberta. Charles Ora Card heard in Montana of the wonderful grasslands of southern Alberta, and with some other leaders of the Mormon Church made a journey of exploration and investigation in the fall of 1886. (27) The first Mormon settlement, indeed the first settlement

27. Higinbotham, op. cit. p. 128.

of any size, in southern Alberta resulted from this trip, when Charles Card brought about sixty Mormon families to Lees Creek, now Cardston, early in 1887. (28) The Mormons had been accustomed to

28. Blue, op. cit. p. 212.

irrigation in Utah, and by 1897 the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company had made a deal with them to construct irrigation canals from Kimball on the St. Mary's River to water the Raymond, Magrath, Stirling, and Taber areas. The Mormons were to be paid half in cash and half in land at three dollars per acre. (29) John Silver,

29. Magrath, loc. cit.

one of the participants, raised 40,000 bushels of wheat on 1000 acres near Wilson Siding in 1906 on land that had cost him only \$3 an acre under the scheme. From its beginnings in 1887, the Mormon settlement has grown and expanded in the south. Two large land purchases made by the Mormon Church were the Cochrane Ranch, 67,000 acres, in 1905, (30) and the Kirkcaldy Ranch west of Warner, 80,000

30. Wood, Edward J., The Mormon Church and the Cochrane Ranch, Canadian Cattlemen, September, 1945.

acres, in 1948.

While speaking of settlement by religious groups, it may be well to mention the Hutterite colonies, which have become an important factor in southern Alberta. Most of the Hutterites came to the area following the first World War, and although they did not come from Montana, the overflow is now largely moving to that state, as restrictions against land purchase by them in southern Alberta are forcing them into more distant areas. At the present time the Hutterites in Alberta comprise some thirty-five colonies, holding approximately 125,000 acres of land. (31)

31. Lethbridge Chamber of Commerce letter to writer, January 25, 1950.

The Canadian Pacific Railway carried on an extensive colonization project after 1883. In a pamphlet entitled, "Hints to Emigrants", 1884, we find some of their campaign literature:

"In consequence of the necessity for freighting goods so far, a comparison of prices of staple goods with those in the east may not appear to the advantage of the Calgary merchants, but we give a few quotations of present prices of goods here:

Flour, Ogilvie's, sack	\$3.50 to \$4.25	
Bacon, side, lb.	.14	.16
Beef, lb.	.15	.20
Sugar, 8 to 12 lb.	1.00	
Tea, lb.	.30	.70
Eggs, doz.	.25	
Potatoes, lb.	.01 $\frac{1}{2}$.03
Oatmeal, lb.	.05	
Rice, lb.	.07	
Beans, lb.	.07	
Coffee, lb.	.35	
Lard, lb.	.18	.20
Cheese, lb.	.18	.20
Dried apples, lb.	.13	.17
Syrup, keg	4.50	

....the labor market is overstocked here at present.
We would advise those intending to come here, to be
prepared to take up land and go into farming. (32)

32. Cited in Calgary Herald, Diamond Jubilee, July 13, 1943,
p. 22, sect. 4.

Of the several land companies formed to attract settlers into southern Alberta from Montana and the United States, one of the most successful was the O. W. Kerr Company, which centred its activities around Warner, then Bunton. O. W. Kerr himself viewed the area in the fall of 1906 and purchased a large section of the lands south of Lethbridge on the Coutts branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Placing T. S. McKenzie and R. H. Owen in charge of the Lethbridge office and hiring O. T. Lathrop as guide and adviser to prospective settlers, he himself returned to headquarters at Minneapolis whence he directed the campaign. He advertised widely that one good crop of wheat would pay for the land, using the slogan, "There is no investment on earth like the earth itself." Cars of interested men were brought in and shown the standing crops and the virgin prairies, and under the smooth salesmanship of O. T. Lathrop thousands of acres were soon settled.

Chapter XII Coal and Oil

One of Alberta's oldest industries is coal mining, and coal was a staple product of Alberta-Montana trade from 1870 to 1896. After the latter date the flow of coal southward was but a dribble. The chief market had been the Great Northern Railway and the smelters at Great Falls, Butte, and Anaconda. After 1895 the Sand Coulee mines in the vicinity of Great Falls were producing quantities of coal, and Alberta lost her Montana market to them. James J. Hill was interested in the Alberta product, but he owned the Sand Coulee mines.

Coal was discovered in Alberta as early as 1792 by Peter Fidler, but the first commercial development was by Nicholas Sheran. Sheran was an Irish Roman Catholic, born in New York. He joined the Union Army during the American Civil War as a drummer boy of fourteen and saw service at the battle of Gettysburg. On demobilization, he went to sea for two years, and then, like many another veteran seeking fortune and adventure, he drifted westward to Montana, finally coming to Fort Benton. Here he met the Healy brothers and with them he came to southern Alberta. He found no gold, but at the junction of the Oldman and the St. Mary's Rivers he found outcroppings of coal. He did some mining at this point, but found the seam too thin to be profitable, so in 1872 he moved to a new site about where the Canadian Pacific Railway viaduct now crosses the Oldman and began to mine in earnest. His whisky-trading companions laughed at his project, but

he built up a very profitable trade, freighting his coal to Fort Benton, and later to Forts Walsh and Macleod. The freighters were glad to have a return load which paid well--the coal was worth \$3 a ton at the pit head but sold for as much as \$24 a ton in Fort Benton. (1) Sadly enough, Sheran did not live long to enjoy the

1. Macleod Gazette, Dec. 14, 1882.

business which he started. He was drowned on May 27, 1882, while assisting a party of police to cross the Oldman River at Fort Kipp, and his body was never found, although a reward of \$100 was offered for its recovery. (2)

2. NOTE: The notice of this reward was one of the advertisements carried in the first issue of the Fort Macleod Gazette, July 1, 1882.

An interesting bit of southern Alberta romance may be mentioned here. Many of the traders took Indian wives, both for their companionship and to ease the barriers between themselves and the natives, but before the Police came in 1874 white women were indeed a rarity. The first white woman to travel the Fort Benton-Fort Whoop-up Trail was Marcella Sheran, sister of Nicholas, who came to keep house for her brother about 1872 or 1873. (3) She

3. Lynch-Staunton, E., Fort Benton-Fort Macleod Trail, Lethbridge Herald, May 27 and 28, 1948.

became a party to the first white marriage in southern Alberta, as witness the following account cited from the Benton River Press of August, 1877:

"Joseph McFarland and Miss Marcella Sheran were married at Whoop-up, Br. N. W. T., on the 4th of July last.

Father Scollan performed the ceremony, and the happy couple received a salute of six guns from Fort Whoop-up, after which they were escorted to the McFarland Mansion by their friends."

The coal industry did not die with Nicholas Sheran in 1882. Fred Kanouse started where Sheran left off and had ten men working by September, with the announced intention of loading all bull and mule teams with coal for the return trip to Fort Benton. Kanouse said that he could use another twenty miners to get the coal out if he could find them. (4)

4. Macleod Gazette, Sept. 4, 1882.

Coal mining brought the Galt family and their connections to southern Alberta, a fact of far-reaching importance because the Galt developments eventually included railway building and irrigation. Elliott T. Galt travelled through southern Alberta in 1879 as an assistant to the Indian Commissioner, Edgar Dewdney. He reported the outcroppings of coal along the Oldman River to his father, Sir Alexander Galt of Montreal, who was prompt to organize the North-Western Coal and Navigation Company to develop the findings. Elliott T. Galt was the first manager of the new company, and William Lethbridge, who gave his name to the now thriving city which grew at the site of the "Coal Banks", was the president. A son-in-law of Sir Alexander Galt, C. A. Magrath, who was to play a prominent part in the development of irrigation in southern Alberta, also came to the area in connection with the North-Western Coal and Navigation Company. (5)

5. NOTE: Magrath came west as a Dominion Land Surveyor in 1878, and joined the Galt enterprises in 1885.

The Galts sent Captain Nicholas Bryant to do some prospecting for coal in 1881. Bryant asked for a man familiar with coal, and the Acadia Coal Company recommended Mr. William Stafford, an employee of theirs. Stafford and his son, William, left Westville, Nova Scotia, on May 22, joined the Bryant party at Londonderry, reached Montreal on May 24, thence travelled via Toronto, Chicago, St. Paul, and Bismarck to Fort Benton, where they arrived on June 4. Bryant had already shipped a team of horses to Fort Benton for the use of the party, and they outfitted from Benton with cooking and camp equipment. Stafford made a thorough survey of all coal resources from Fort Benton to the "far north" and selected Coal Banks (Lethbridge) as the best spot for development. The mines were first opened on December 11, 1882, being worked the first winter with a small crew. (6)

6. Steele, C. F., Seeking Gold Sheran found Coal, LH Gold Jub. pp. 21-22.

The original plan was to produce coal for the settlers, but the Galts quickly realized that they needed a much larger market. This was offered by the Canadian Pacific Railway if transportation could be provided. Captain Todd of the Missouri River steamer, Rosebud, and his brother, Nels Todd, were brought in from Montana by the company in the hope that the river would prove navigable to Medicine Hat. The Baroness was built at Lethbridge in 1883, and the Alberta and the Minnow at Medicine Hat in 1884. (7) Navigation,

7. Higinbotham, op. cit. p. 108.

however, proved impracticable, and the experiment was abandoned. The coal was very suitable to the needs of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which offered the North-Western Coal and Navigation Company a large long-term contract if the latter would build a railway to deliver it at Dunmore. The coal company agreed and immediately applied for a charter to build a narrow-gauge railway. The contract was let in the early spring of 1885, but nothing was done toward building the line until the threat of the North West Rebellion was past. The 109 miles of line was completed on August 28, 1885, and coal was delivered to Dunmore over it the following day. Further expansion of the mines encouraged the Galts to look south to Montana for markets, and in 1890 a subsidiary company built another narrow-gauge railway link two hundred miles from Lethbridge to Great Falls.(8)

8. cf. pp. 125-127.

The coal company with its successors and subsidiaries had a payroll of \$30,000 per month shortly before the Great Falls and Canada Railway was completed, and expected to increase this to \$80,000 per month after completion of that railway. (9) Some idea

9. Edmonton Bulletin, Sept. 13, 1890.

of the size of the enterprise may be gleaned from a news item reporting that October 6, 1890, marked the record output of coal from the Lethbridge mines in any one day up to that time--720 tons. (10)

10. Ibid, Nov. 1, 1890.

When it is remembered that the coal cars on the narrow-gauge railway had a capacity of only nine to ten tons, this amounted to nearly

eighty cars, a sizeable amount. At the same time the Great Falls Tribune reported that the demand for Lethbridge coal was greater than the railway could transport. (11)

11. Ibid.

An interesting sidelight on the finance of the early days is noted in 1893 when the Lethbridge banks practically refused to accept gold by placing such a high discount on it that the miners could not afford to deposit it. The company was in financial straits with the Union Bank, and had decided to bring back gold in payment for coal delivered in Montana, using the gold to pay the miners. The men, most of whom were Americans, were delighted with the hard money, but were greatly chagrined when they took it to the bank. (12)

12. Magrath, loc. cit.

Coal traffic became a mere trickle after the turn of the century, but oil gradually took its place in the trade picture, the chief difference being that oil moved north from the Montana fields. Three refineries operated for a time at Coutts, in addition to a cracking plant: the Olsen refinery built in 1924, the Maple Leaf refinery in 1926, the Beaver Cracking Plant in 1929, and the large Stellarene refinery in 1930. All used Montana crude. Imperial Oil bought the Maple Leaf plant in 1932, but dismantled it and shipped it to Calgary to use Turner Valley crude in 1936. The British-American Oil Company purchased the Stellarene in 1933, but closed it down in 1937, the other plants closing about the same time. At the present time, the Imperial Oil and the British-American Oil

companies each have a crew of three at Coutts to take delivery of Montana crude, which is now piped into tank cars for refining at Calgary or Moose Jaw. Oil is delivered at Coutts by two pipe-lines, a five-inch line from the Cutbank field, and a four-inch line from the Kevin-Sunburst field. Considerable crude oil and gasoline is also imported in tank cars and trucks. Pipeline deliveries in three recent years were: 1944--36,208,446 gallons; 1945--33,999,530 gallons; and 1946--31,776,013 gallons. (13)

13. LH Anniv. p. 17, sect. 3.

Chapter XIII Boundary Waters and Irrigation

Boundary waters and their diversion have always been a matter of importance in Alberta-Montana relations. Both the St. Mary's and the Milk Rivers rise in Montana and flow into Alberta, whence the Milk returns to join the Mississippi system while the St. Mary's empties into the Saskatchewan system.

Article VI of the Boundary Waters Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, January 11, 1909, reads in part as follows:

"The High Contracting Parties agree that the St. Mary's and Milk Rivers and their tributaries (in the State of Montana and the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan) are to be treated as one stream for the purposes of irrigation and power, and the waters thereof shall be apportioned equally between the two countries, but in making such equal apportionment more than half may be taken from one river and less than half from the other by either country so as to afford a more beneficial use of each. It is further agreed that in the diversion of such waters during the irrigation season, between the 1st of April and 31st of October, inclusive, annually, the United States is entitled to a prior appropriation of 500 cu. ft. per sec. of the waters of the Milk River, or so much of such amount as constitutes three-fourths of its natural flow, and that Canada is entitled to a prior appropriation of 500 cu. ft. per sec. of the flow of St. Mary's River, or so much of such amount as constitutes three-fourths of its natural flow. The channel of the Milk River in Canada may be used at the convenience of the United States for the conveyance, while passing through Canadian territory, of waters diverted from the St. Mary's River...."

Controversy regarding interpretation of this Article led the two countries to refer the question to the International Joint Commission for a ruling. Canada contended that the waters to be divided included all the waters of the two streams to their mouths, and that the equal division should be exclusive of the priorities; the United States

that the waters to be divided were only those crossing the International Boundary and that the equal division should be inclusive of priorities. An order of the International Joint Commission, October 4, 1921, accepted the American view that only waters crossing the boundary were to be considered, and the Canadian view that priorities should first be apportioned and the remainder divided equally. (1)

1. Canada, St. Mary's and Milk Rivers Water Development Committee Report, February, 1942, pp. 22-24.

The United States exercised their right to use the Milk River to carry water diverted from the St. Mary's in 1916, when water was diverted from Sherburne Lake into the north fork of the Milk River, thence 216 miles through Canada to storage in Fresno Lake for use in Montana irrigation. Nothing further was done until 1949, when one mile of new canal was built to replace a metal flume which carried the water over Spider Coulee. (2)

2. Lethbridge Herald, May 26, 1949.

Canada took no steps to utilize her share of the water of these two rivers until 1947, when development of the St. Mary's-Milk River Irrigation Project got under way. Such action was urgent and imperative, as Canada had either to utilize her share of water or lose her rights.

The Report of the St. Mary's and Milk River Development Committee was tabled in the House of Commons in 1942. This report outlined a seventeen-year plan of construction at an estimated cost of \$15,178,435. This figure has been increased by inflated costs to approximately \$20,000,000 at the present time. The original plan

called for the construction of the St. Mary's River dam, reservoirs, and outlet canals with irrigation of 24,000 acres in the third year, with extension for the next fourteen years until the whole project, inclusive of the present Lethbridge Northern, Taber, Magrath, and Raymond units but exclusive of the Aetna, Leavitt, Mountain View, and Macleod Southern units, would cover 465,000 acres. The first irrigation in the third year of the project was to be in the Grassy Lake-Burdett area; the fourth year 27,161 acres around Yellow Lake and Purple Springs; the fifth year, 42,424 acres around Big Bend and Medicine Hat; the sixth year, 24,162 acres around Lethbridge and Coaldale; the seventh year, 39,184 acres around East Chin; and the ninth to seventeenth years, 20,000 to 30,000 acres per year to extend to all irrigable land from the foothills to the Saskatchewan boundary south of the Waterton, Oldman and South Saskatchewan Rivers. The fifth year called in addition for the construction of the Chin Power Plant with a capacity of 3,540 horsepower; while the eighth year was to be used for the construction of the East Pot Hole Coulee reservoir, with a capacity of 14,000 acre-feet. This latter project has already been undertaken by the provincial government, so the original plan should be speeded up by one year. The total storage plans for the project included the main dam on the St. Mary's River with a capacity of 300,000 acre-feet; the East Pot Hole Coulee reservoir; the Chin reservoir, 150,000 acre-feet; the Horsefly reservoir, 6,000 acre-feet; and the Verdigris reservoir, 140,500 acre-feet. (3)

Irrigation Areas in Alberta



Map from
Canadian Cattlemen,
March, 1946.

1. E. I. D., Brooks, 150,000 acres.
2. W. I. D., Strathmore, 54,000 acres.
3. L. N. I. D., Lethbridge, 95,000 acres.
4. Canada Land Company, Vauxhall, 40,000 acres.
5. United I. D., 34,000 acres.
6. Mountain View I. D., 3,500 acres.
7. Leavitt I. D., 4,500 acres.
8. A. R. I., Taber, 105,500 acres.
9. A. R. I., Magrath, 7,000 acres.
10. A. R. I., Raymond, 15,100 acres.
- Miscellaneous, 4,700 acres.
- Total irrigated area, 508,000 acres.

Proposed Additions:

11. South Macleod, 10,000 acres.
12. Aetna, 10,000 acres.
13. Canada Land Company Extension, 125,000 acres.
14. Red Deer Diversion Canal, 500,000 acres.
15. St. Mary's-Milk River, between Milk and Oldman, 465,000 acres.

Total Alberta irrigation now planned, 1,518,000 acres.

The St. Mary's Dam will be the highest earth dam in Canada and one of the engineering marvels of America when completed. The crest, one-half mile long and thirty feet across, will rise 185 feet above the river bed. The base will be a quarter mile across. The water face, on a three-to-one slope, will be covered with coarse sand and gravel to a thickness of one foot at the crest increasing to ten feet at the base, the whole to be covered with riprap ten feet thick. The project will require over 3,000,000 yards of clay and 1,000,000 yards of rock and gravel. The contract for its construction was let to W. C. Wells Construction Company, Limited, for \$2,081,700. The project when completed is expected to increase the population density from 3.59 to 48 per square mile in the area. (4)

4. Lethbridge Chamber of Commerce, 1947.

Further border trouble over water rights came to a head in 1947, when the International Joint Commission held a hearing in Havre, Montana, regarding diversion of Sage Creek. Sage Creek rises in the Cypress Hills northeast of Manyberries and comes to a dead end in Wild Horse Lake on the International Line. This so-called lake is really a large hay flat extending on both sides of the boundary. Montana put forth claims that the Smith ranch, Cox ranch, Prescott ranch, and Sims ranch had established claims to water sufficient for irrigating 1,963 acres by right of prior use, and presented evidence of squatter's rights as early as 1898. Evidence was presented that there had been sufficient water nearly every year until the early 1930's when Gilchrist Brothers had purchased the Q ranch and had

diverted more and more water to Canadian use, leaving insufficient for Montana users, except in very wet years such as 1943. Testimony was presented that in several years when there was little hay south of the line there was plenty on the Gilchrist holdings. In 1947 there was enough water to irrigate only 496 acres on the Montana side. The Alberta claims were presented by C. H. Gilchrist, who maintained that much of the irrigation was done with overflow from Sage Creek which was free for the taking, that Montana could establish no "prior right" to flash flood waters, and that the scarcity of water was due to drought and not to undue usage by Canadian ranchers. Montana requested that the Canadian government install sufficient storage facilities to cure the present conditions, that a water master be placed on the creek to apportion waters fairly, and that steps be taken to allow sufficient water to reach Montana ranches to enable them to continue operations. The International Joint Commission reserved judgment, asking for further briefs to be presented, and their decision is still pending. (5)

5. Lethbridge Herald, Nov. 12 and Nov. 13, 1947.

Chapter XIV Some Present Day Relationships

One of the finest manifestations of friendly relations between Alberta and Montana is to be seen in the establishment in 1933 of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. Probably the first white man to see Waterton Lakes was Lieutenant Thomas Blackiston of the Palliser expedition, but more important in having the area set aside as a park was John George "Kootenai" Brown, who came south from Edmonton in 1865 to make his home by the lakes. The Palliser expedition named the Lakes in honor of Charles Waterton, English traveller, naturalist and ornithologist.

Kootenai Brown was an Englishman, a product of Eton and Oxford, an Imperial Army officer from India, who finally came to Alberta as an Indian trader in search of adventure and did much to have the Waterton Lakes area set aside as a national park. The first step was to have the area established as a forest reserve in 1895. The reserve was gradually extended until it included about 220 square miles. A survey was made in 1910 for the purpose of park incorporation. As Waterton Lakes Park adjoined Glacier National Park in Montana, the Rotary Clubs of Alberta and Montana started a movement for union of the two. The idea was considered by the two governments, and in 1933 the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park was established, commemorating 130 years of peace along the 49th Parallel. A further demonstration of amicable relations was given in 1947 when the Rotary Clubs erected and dedicated two peace

cairns on the Chief Mountain Highway on the International Boundary in the park. (1)

1.Lethbridge Herald, August 4, 1947.

There is considerable fraternal intercourse between northern Montana and southern Alberta. Since 1888 fraternal visits among the Masonic lodges have been common. At the present time, the border lodges hold an annual International Night, alternately at Cutbank or Shelby, Montana, and at Calgary, Alberta. There is at least one club of Lions International which is truly international, the Coutts-Sweetgrass Lions Club, which has members on both sides of the line. The Chambers of Commerce of Great Falls and Lethbridge cooperate to promote better road, rail, and air services north and south, and better customs facilities at Coutts-Sweetgrass with twenty-four hour service at the port. Since the war, the Montana Flying Farmers and Ranchers Association and the Royal Canadian Flying Club of Alberta have been working together to try to have their respective governments establish landing strips at the ports of entry. Splendid examples of cooperation have been set by the Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs of Alberta and Montana in erecting boundary cairns and markers. The twenty-fourth such tablet was unveiled on the boundary at Coutts on May 29, 1949, by the Kiwanis clubs. The inscription on this tablet reads:

"This unfortified boundary line between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America should quicken the remembrance of the more than a century old friendship between these two countries, a lesson of peace to all countries." (2)

2. NOTE: Service clubs are sometimes lax in historical accuracy. Until 1870, the 49th Parallel was a boundary between the United States and British North America, and for much of the period a share of credit for the maintenance of peace should be accorded to Great Britain.

The tourist traffic between the two countries has become of major importance in the last few years. Tourist trade constitutes a very important, although invisible, item in the balance of international trade. Expenditures by foreign tourists in Canada have the same effect on the balance of trade as exports, while expenditures of Canadian tourists abroad have the same effect as imports. Canada has had a favorable balance of tourist trade over a period of years, the most favorable balance being shown in 1949 when American tourists spent \$98,000,000 more in Canada than Canadian tourists spent in the United States. (3) Alberta, with her world-famous playgrounds,

3. Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

takes no small part in this important phase of international relations. Entry to Alberta from Montana is made usually at Chief Mountain in the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, at Carway, Del Bonita, or Coutts. There is practically no difficulty experienced at the border by bona fide American tourists who are coming to Canada for six months or less, although all are warned to carry sufficient proof of their citizenship to satisfy their own immigration officials on their return. Similarly, Canadians experience no border difficulties, but at present there are restrictions on the amount of money they may carry out of the country.

Coutts, originally operated as an outpost of the Lethbridge

port, was established as a full-fledged customs port in 1936, and now ranks as the most important port of entry between the Pacific Coast and the Great Lakes. From a staff of one in 1906, the personnel has grown to a staff of twenty-three in 1949. The following figures will serve to show how traffic through the port has increased:

Year	Number of commercial entries	Value of Imports
1922-23	354	
1937-38		\$1,286,888
1945-46	9,628	3,398,482
1946-47	12,421	5,544,226
1947-48	16,651	10,540,570
1948-49 (50 weeks)	17,046	16,262,900 (4)

4. Ibid.

Up to 40,000,000 gallons of crude oil come through Coutts annually from Montana. Excessive traffic through Coutts in 1948 and 1949 has been congesting the facilities far beyond capacity. The lifting of the embargo on Canadian cattle in 1948 resulted in a tremendous flow of livestock southward through the Coutts port. Much of this stock was driven to the border in the style of sixty years ago, where all was tested for Tuberculosis and Bang's Disease before it could pass through customs. The sudden slump in the Chicago market brought an end to much of this traffic. The Montana Livestock Auction Company of Butte was reported to have paid George Ross of Aden a deposit of several thousand dollars for his herd, but refused to take delivery after the price drop, preferring to lose their deposit rather than suffer the greater loss involved in taking delivery. The opening of the Leduc oil field resulted in heavy traffic north-

ward of oil-well rigging and equipment. On March 21, 1949, over 250 tons of oil-well equipment were cleared through the port in addition to 2,250 head of sheep from J. T. Henninger's ranch going south to Kevin and all the regular traffic. The importance of Coutts has been recognized by the Federal Government in an appropriation of \$140,000 for a new Customs Building there. (5)

5. Lethbridge Herald, March 22, 1949.

There has been considerable international sport along the border. As far back as 1891, we find records of an interchange of baseball games between Great Falls and Lethbridge, both teams winning their home game, Great Falls 8-7 and Lethbridge 27-2. During the same year, Belt and Lethbridge exchanged soccer games. To celebrate July 4, 1891, Lethbridge baseball, football and tennis teams journeyed to Great Falls. Lethbridge won the baseball game and the tennis matches, but the football game was a draw. Sportsmen of those days were true enthusiasts--as there was no passenger train available for the July 4 trip, a train was made up of fourteen cabooses to make the special run. (6) There is some interchange of

6. Great Falls Weekly Tribune, July 11, 1891.

sport today, with golf, baseball, and hockey predominating.

From its inception in 1912, the Calgary Stampede has attracted the cream of rodeo artists from Montana and other States. Among Montana winners at the first Calgary Stampede were Fanny Sperry of Mitchell, for cowgirls' bronco riding, and Otto Kline of Livingstone, for cowboys' trick and fancy riding. (7) An interesting

7. Kelly, op. cit. pp. 437-438

sequel is found in the fact that Miss Patsy Rodgers, chosen to represent Canada as Miss Calgary at the Madison Square Gardens Rodeo in October, 1946, was a granddaughter of "Dublin" Rodgers, one of the I. G. Baker Company's bull-whackers on the Benton-Macleod Trail. (8)

8. Canadian Cattlemen, June, 1946, p. 46.

The necessity of war resulted in considerable development along the Old North Trail. The American government had to get supplies through to Alaska, and to facilitate the traffic the Alaska Highway, an all-weather road, was constructed from the end of steel at Dawson Creek to Whitehorse in Yukon Territory, thence to Fairbanks, Alaska. The establishment of a port of entry at Snag, Yukon, makes it possible for American shippers to send goods in bond across the whole of the Dominion of Canada.

To carry on development of the work so well begun, the International 87 Highway Association was formed at Brady, Texas, in 1943, with the avowed object of linking the Alaska Highway with the Pan American Highway by following the route of Highway 87 through the United States and a network of roads through the Province of Alberta. Starting at the northern end of the route, the proposed highway would run from Fairbanks via Dawson Creek, Edmonton, Macleod, Coutts, Laredo, and Mexico City, to Panama, a total distance of 7,810 miles. (9) The route is roughly the Old North Trail of the

9. Lethbridge Herald, Aug. 16, 1947, Highway of the Americas.

Indians, so we see that there is a thread of development throughout

the period along this ancient way, with southern Alberta and northern Montana in the very midst of it.



INTERNATIONAL 87 HIGHWAY





Chapter XV Conclusion

It is a truism to say that one measure of man's culture is the efficiency of his integration with his environment. The environment of northern Montana and of southern Alberta is the same--the same soil conditions, the same natural grasses, the same errors of cultivation of land that should have been left raw, the same drought cycles, and the same winds. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy of both, and "sidewalk farmers" who mine the soil and live in cities are all too prevalent in both. Mechanization was the cause of this evil, and the mechanized farmer is not prone to plan for generations of the future.

Soil and moisture conservation methods originated in Canada. It is said that the principle of summer fallow was discovered so far as Western Canada was concerned as a result of one of those accidents of history--the North West Rebellion of 1885. Angus McKay was left alone on his farm at Indian Head because his young men went to fight. Unable to do all the work alone, he left one field unseeded, but kept it clean. The following year--1886, a dry year--the field yielded 35 bushels per acre as compared to only two bushels per acre on an adjoining field which had been continuously cropped. This was probably the first use of summer fallow on the northern plains. The principle used for conservation of top soil from wind erosion is an adaptation of the ancient practice of terracing fields to prevent water erosion. Two Dutch

brothers, Leonard and Arie Koole of Nobleford, Alberta, are credited with the application of the principle of terracing to flat fields which resulted in strip farming.

The next step in cooperative integration with environment must be long range planning. Farm scientists recognize the fact that the 49th Parallel is no frontier of weather or of economy, and that there is an identity of interests of the northern plains of the United States and the southern plains of Canada--an area embracing the old buffalo range, including Montana, the Dakotas, Wyoming, Nebraska, southern Saskatchewan and southern Alberta. While adaptations for moisture and soil conservation came from Canada, the first experiments in long term planning are being carried out south of the line. Montana was not slow in using summer tillage and strip farming, and neither must we be laggard in following her lead in long range planning.

Montana has three outstanding long distance planning programs in operation: Teton County, the Mizpah-Pumpkin Creek Grazing District, and the Milk River Northern Montana Land Utilization Project. Teton County is an example of a unified county program, embracing tax revision, soil conservation, water utilization, erosion control, pest and weed eradication, range management, and cultural activity. As it has a balanced economy of ranching and farming and of irrigated and dry land, and was never so destitute that any change was improvement, it has good experimental value. Teton is a large county, comprising 1,500,000 acres, but tax re-

classification on the basis of productivity was undertaken on each forty acre subdivision, with four classes of plow land and five classes of grass land being distinguished. Some taxes were raised, some lowered, but collections were improved. Better land use was encouraged, and today most of the sub-marginal land has been returned to grass. Fortunately, there was enough good raw land to replace the areas taken out of cultivation. Small farms have been discouraged, and there are few farms as small as 160 acres today except those held by old people reluctant to move in their declining years. The small farmers are paying their way by concentrating on production of dairy stock, hogs, and poultry.

The Mizpah-Pumpkin Creek Grazing District, formed in March, 1928, was the first cooperative range grazing district. It includes 108,000 acres between the two creeks which give it its name. Private owners held 28 per cent of the area, the Northern Pacific Railway Company 41 per cent, the State of Montana 6 per cent, and the remainder was public domain. The private owners and the railway were persuaded to lease their holdings to the ranchers' association for a rental just covering taxes, and the public domain was leased for \$20 a section per year, the whole on a ten-year rental basis. The area was fenced, fence-riders hired, prairie dogs poisoned, cattle quotas allotted to members on a basis which would permit recovery of the range, reservoirs built, and range reclamation measures taken. Bulls, salt, and feed supplements are purchased cooperatively. At first the rental fee per head for eight months grazing was \$1.50,

but it has been reduced to \$1.25. The controlled range has demonstrated its ability to maintain carrying capacity even in the driest years, and has given much needed stability to the ranching industry.

The "Malta plan", originally a local scheme for resettlement, was seized upon by the federal government and became the Milk River Northern Montana Land Utilization Project in 1934, covering some 7,000,000 acres in Blaine, Phillips, and Valley Counties in Montana, and affecting about 5000 farm families. The area includes irrigable and dry land farms, and grazing land. The basic idea in the project was "area diversification", or integration of the dry and irrigable areas to the best advantage. The clients of the project are all former dry land farmers, encouraged to dispose of their sub-marginal dry land and move to irrigable land. Their debts were liquidated by federal loans, averaging \$3500 each. There are three classes: purchase clients, buying land on a forty-year payment plan; lease clients, operating on a share-crop basis with the government; and labor clients, who earn their living as laborers, established on small five-acre plots. A study of the incomes of sixty affected families is a revelation. Annual average family income before the project started was \$962, made up as follows: 41 per cent from the farm, 40 per cent from direct relief, 10 per cent from federal bonuses, and 9 per cent from outside labor. Annual average family income under the project (1940) is \$2300, with 83 per cent from the farm, 16 per cent from federal and sugar beet bonuses, and 1 per cent from outside labor, with no relief payments. In addition,

the people have better homes, better schools, and a richer social life. (1)

1. Howard, J. K., Montana High, Wide, and Handsome, Yale, New Haven, 1943. pp. 287-311.

The people of Alberta and Montana have much in their common heritage on which to build a sound culture. A synthesis of the ideals of all who have lived along the Old North Trail will provide the basis for it. From the Indians we derive a heritage of stamina and love of the freedom of the outdoors, from the traders a tradition of ardent fearlessness, from the metis a religious fervor, from the miners and the outlaws who followed them extravagance and recklessness, from the cowboy and cattleman a happy carelessness, and from the homesteader a burning ambition, a stoic resistance to despair, and the optimism inherent in all who work the soil. No ideology would be right or adequate for the area unless it includes something of each part of this magnificent heritage.

As the Old North Trail brought men from Asia to this area for the first time, so the new North Trail, the Alaska Highway, may carry our culture and our ideology back to Asia, and with it a hope for a better world tomorrow.

APPENDIX A

A schedule showing classification of payments of the North West Mounted Police to the I. G. Baker Company for two years, 1875-6 and 1876-7, as shown in Sessional Papers #188, 42 Victoria A 1879.

	1875-76	1876-77
Pay of the force	\$18,481.98	
Subsistence	30,438.29	\$38,124.94
Clothing and uniforms	2,608.75	4,685.05
Arms and ammunition	27.91	24.50
Travelling expenses	598.94	33.50
Freight and transport	4,018.21	3,084.34
Horses and equipment	6,850.02	2,801.23
Forage, etc.	31,428.25	64,435.02
Sleighs, wagons, buggies	406.42	369.49
Buildings and repairs	4,591.91	
Oxen, carts, harness	127.62	
Printing, stationery	287.00	116.87
Barrack and camp equipment	2,877.96	3,306.60
Fuel and light	1,104.75	1,493.80
Telegrams	208.97	
Postages	57.29	
Blacksmith stores	707.92	1,066.48
Hospital expenses and stores	1,342.32	272.24
General stores	6,951.14	4,123.69
Rents	49.46	
Farming implements	1,887.92	93.00
Legal expenses	7,718.82	26.25
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTALS	122,771.85	122,057.00

APPENDIX B

Schedules A, B, C, D, E, and F give prices delivered of various commodities supplied on contract by the I. G. Baker Company to the North West Mounted Police at the posts of Walsh, Macleod, Wood Mountain, Fort Saskatchewan, Battleford, and Qu'Appelle respectively, for the year 1880, as shown in Sessional Papers #80, 45 Victoria A 1882.

Article	Schedule: A	B	C	D	E	F
Beaf (lb.)	$4\frac{3}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{4}$
Bacon	$13\frac{1}{2}$	14	$14\frac{1}{2}$	$18\frac{1}{2}$	17	$15\frac{1}{2}$
Flour	6	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$10\frac{1}{4}$	5	$4\frac{3}{4}$
Tea	50	50	51	60	53	55
Coffee	23	$23\frac{1}{4}$	24	$28\frac{1}{4}$	27	24
Sugar	$14\frac{1}{2}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$	$19\frac{1}{2}$	$18\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$
Dried apples	10	$11\frac{1}{4}$	11	$16\frac{1}{4}$	14	13
Beans	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{4}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{4}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Rice	8	$8\frac{1}{2}$	9	$13\frac{1}{2}$	12	10
Pressed vegetables	$39\frac{1}{2}$	40	40	45	$43\frac{1}{2}$	42
Pressed hops	19	20	20	25	23	22
Baking Powder			25	30	$28\frac{1}{2}$	25
Salt	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Pepper	25	25	26	25	29	25
Potatoes	$3\frac{1}{4}$	2	2	2	2	2
Biscuit	$8\frac{3}{4}$	9	$9\frac{3}{4}$	14	$12\frac{3}{4}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$

Article	Schedule:	A	B	C	D	E	F
Oatmeal (lb.)		$6\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{3}{4}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{3}{4}$
Sperm candles		20	21	21	25	24	$22\frac{1}{2}$
Bran		$3\frac{3}{4}$	4	$4\frac{1}{2}$	9	5	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Coal oil (gal.)		48	52	56	92	80	65
Oats (cwt.)		3.74	3.25	4.25	4.00	4.00	3.50
Hay (ton)		10.75			9.50	9.00	9.00

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